D.

SARAVIA.

1.

Of the diuerſe degrees of the Miniſters of the Goſpell.

2.

Of the honor vvhich is due vnto the Prieſtes and Prelates of the Church.

3.

Of Sacrilege, and the puniſhment thereof.

The particular Contents of the aforeſaide Treatiſes to be ſeene in the next Pages.

Iob. 8.

8. Inquire I pray thee of the former age, and prepare thy ſelfe to learne of the Fathers,
9. (For we are but of yeſter day, and are ignorant.)
10. Shall not they teach thee?

LONDON.

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1595.

The first Booke.

1 WHat the Miniſtery of the Goſpell is, and what be the parts thereof.

2 Of ordinary and extraordinary calling to the Miniſtery.

3 Of the twelue Apoſtles.

4 Of the ſeuenty Diſciples.

5 Of Prophetes.

6 That the names and titles of Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, & Prophets, were giuen alſo vnto other Paſtors and Doctors of the Church.

7 Of Deacons,

8 That the Churches in their beginnings had no other Biſhops and Elders, beſides the Apoſtles them ſelues & their fellow-laborers.

9 Of Prieſts (or Paſtors) and Biſhops.

10 Of two degrees of Paſtors.

11 That the doctrine of the Apoſtles acknowledgeth no annuary Elders, to rule onely, and not to teach in the Church.

12 The place of *Ambroſe* expounded.

13 The place of *Paul* expounded, in his firſt to *Timothy* the fift Chapter, *what it is to labour in the word and doctrine.*

14 That, that order is of God, which appointeth ſuperior Elders Biſhops, and that but of man, where all Paſtors & Elders are alike.

15 That our Sauiour by no ſtatute, repealed the ſupereminent authority of Paſtors among them ſelues.

16 That the forme of the Apoſtles gouernement did not end, with the death of the Apoſtles.

17 That the commaundement; To preach the Goſpell to all nations (the Apoſtles being now receyued vp into Heauen) doth in like manner bind the Church: to the which the authority Apoſtolique is alſo requiſite.

18 That the Apoſtolique authority is as neceſſary for the conuer-

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conseruing and confirming, as for the founding & first planting of Churches.

19 By testimony of *Eusebius* his Ecclesiasticall history the former Chapter is confirmed.

20 That the authority of Bishops ouer Priestes or Elders, is approued by the consort of all Churches throughout the whole world.

21 That Bishops are ordained by a diuine institution, and Apostolique tradition.

22 That it was the opinion of *Aerius*, That there is no difference betweene a Bishop and a Priest: which opinion was condemned for an Heresie by the Fathers.

23 *Hierome* his opinion confuted.

24 Of one Bishop in one Dioceſſe.

25 Of the names of Patriarches, Archbishops, and Metropolitanes.

26 Of Doctors.

The second Booke.

1 THat by a certaine Law of nature among all nations, the Presidentes of Religion were esteemed worthy great honor.

2 How great the reuerence of Priestes hath beene in all nations.

3 What the honour of the Priesthood was among the people of God.

4 Of that double honor which is due vnto those Elders which rule well, and the argumentes of those which thinke the contrary.

5 An answere to the arguments of the former Chapter.

6 That the honour which is giuen to the Pastors of the Church, is ioyned with a certaine Religion towardes God.

7 Certayne other reasons confuted, and the truth confirmed, by many testimonies of Scripture.

8 That

8 That the good examples of our fore-Fathers, prescribe a Law to theyr successors.
9 That the oblations of Christians are part of Gods worship.
10 An aunswere to certaine obiections: with the which it is confirmed, that the Ministers of the Gospel are worthy no lesse honor, then were the Priests of old among the people of God.
11 The iudgement of the Fathers concerning the oblations of the faithfull.
12 That the Church had no small reuenewes, and certayn places in the which they did celebrate theyr assemblies, before the time of *Constantine*.
13 A distinction of Church goods.
14 That the Prelates of Churches are not maintayned of almes, but of the due reward of theyr labours.
15 Of those landes which are held in fee, and haue annexed with them any ciuill authority or iurisdiction.
16 That Bishops and other Pastors are not forbidden to be Lordes of Fees, and sometimes to vndertake secular and ciuill charges.
17 What a Fee is, and what are the lawes and conditions thereof.
18 A distinction of Fees.
19 An aunswere to the obiection, that ciuill iurisdiction, outward pompe, and honors which are annexed with these Fees, doe not agree with the simplicity of the Euangelique Ministery.
20 That it is lawfull for Bishops to heare ciuill causes, and to determine vppon them.
21 An exposition of that place of *Luke*, the two and twenty Chapter.
22 That the Pastors of the Church, for the necessity of the common wealth, may attend some times vppon worldly affaires.
23 That diuerse functions are not confounded, albeit vndertaken of one man.

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24 That *Dauid* and *Solomon* vsed the aide of Priests and Leuites in ciuill affaires.
25 Their error confuted, that think no ciuill affaires of the common wealth ought to be committed to the Bishops and Pastors of the Church.
26 That wher the Chuch is the common wealth: the same man, as Bishop, may take charge of the Church for the Lord Iesus, and render fealty and obeisance to the king, as one that holdeth by faith and homage.
27 An other argument, against the endowment of Fees, confuted.
28 Of the honorable titles which are giuen vnto Bishops.
29 Of the Bishops family and retinue.
30 Whether it be better for Ministers to liue of the stipends of the Magistrate, or rather of the oblations of the faithfull.
31 The Stipendaries cald to account, and confuted.
32 Certain reasons why Stipendaries are disproued.

The third Booke.

1 OF Sacrilege, & the punishment therof.
2 What Sacrilege is.
3 The reasons with the which they commonly excuse their Sacrilege.
4 An aunswere to the reasons of the former Chapter.
5 A distinction of those Church goods, which the Church of Rome possesseth at this day.
6 That the goods of Monasteries are not al of one kind.
7 That it is another thing to come from Paganisme to Christianity, then to come from Popery, or some other Heresie.
8 How greeuous and incurable the sin of Sacrilege is.
9 Certaine examples of Gods vengeance against Sacrilegious persons.

FINIS.

To the Reader.

YOu will say, what neede all this waste? this labour might haue beene well spared. For seeing the same argument hath ben handled long since, and of late, learnedly, and at large by men of our owne: what neede this foraine ayde? In such aboundance of wits and writings, to transport Sarauia out of Latine into English, is to bring owles to Athens, and to carry stickes to the wood; as it is in the Prouerbe.

True it is: the cause hath ben vndertaken long since, but it was late first: and of late, but it was long first. And the same hath ben maintayned learnedly enough, if not with learning too much: and it hath ben handled at large also, yet all little enough: Such is the female misconceit, of the lascinious male-content, and the male miscontent, of the learned ignorant of this age, euer learning and neuer able to come to the knowledge of the truth. Notwithstanding, seeing in the iudgement of the most wise and best learned, this Germane Booke seemed for sound iudgement inferiour to none, and for graue discourse equall to any, it was therfore thought by them an action no lesse commodious to the people, then commendable to the Author; that he, who in the causes of present controuersie, hath propounded his iudgement vnto all, should a haue his iudgement expounded vnto vs. The which although it hath beene curstly censured by a certaine suspicious and suspected Criticke, emulous of his betters credite, who in his professed lectures hath vsed the remembraunce of his name in disdaine, with Sarauia nescio quis. Yet his best auditors there, and others his betters elsewhere, haue found this difference betweene Sarauia and him: that, besides his great learning, and no lesse experience (of the which this great Censor neuer had the one, neuer will haue the other) Sarauia hath made knowen to him and the whole world, by this his

resolute

resolute definitiue, who he is: *whereas the other in one whole yearme hath so behaued himselfe in the same cause, that albeit wee all know* who he is, *yet we could neuer tell* where to finde him. *So hoppeth he betweene the stone and the Altar, that as a man distract betweene feare and flattery, he maketh vp his doubtfull resolution with this harmelesse confession,* Sentio quod sentio; quod? nescio. *I know what I know, what? I doe not know.*

I, but now we see the aduerse part (partly by theyr lawlesse outrage, and partly by theyr lawfull restraint) to be nowe as impotent in their faction, as they are odious in their opinion, to be at this time as vnable, as they were at all times vnworthy to preuaile: and then, what neede we any longer striue when the ennemy can no longer stand? I aunswer; that their increase was seene long since, to be at the full, and their credite appeareth euen now to be in the Waine. For the which as we are to giue God thankes, (who in taking Iustice vpon some of them, hath taken pitty vpon the whole Church,) so likewise are we to pray for the rest, that in good time we may see, eyther theyr speedy amendement, or their present preferment: (For it is time (O Lord) that thou haue mercy vppon Sion, yea the time is come.) Notwithstanding, in the meane time wee haue entertained this profered aide, not so much to inuade the seditious brethren, or to bring home the resolued recreant, as to strengthen the godly Subiect, and to bring forward the well affected Protestant. With the which if any man finde himselfe agreeued let him shew for it; but so, that Sarauia *may vnderstand what he saith.*

For my part; if I haue conceiued him right, the fruite is yours: if I haue deliuered him not right, the fault is mine. Sure I am, the Author meant you well; and my Authors: And so doe I.

The Translator.

TO THE MOST REuerend father in Christ, Iohn by the prouidence of God Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of al England, and Metrapolitane. To the renovvmed and most honored Heroicke, Sir Christopher Hatton, *Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and high Chauncellour of England. As also to the noble and right honorable, Sir William Cecill, Baron of Burghley, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and high Treasurer of England, of her Maiesties most Honorable priuy Counsell, my very good Lordes,*

true felicity.

THe auncient receiued custome of dedicating books to men of name and authority, is growne and grounded vppon many reasons great & waighty, all which it shalbe needeleſſe for me to reuise in this place: But for my part, there are chiefly three causes mouing me to consecrat this my small trauell to you the most Honorable, and honored of me (my good Lordes.) First, that thereby I might testifye vnto you the duety and deuotion of a loyall and gratefull minde towards you, that find my selfe seuerally and singularly bound vnto you all and euery one of you. For first, one of you (vppon my repaire into England) disdained not to entertaine me a stranger with no straunge countenance, and straunge courtesie: The other also dained to accept me (vnworthy) into his owne family: And the other of his especiall fauour brought to passe, that by her Maiesties priuiledge and preferment, I might be made of a forreiner a freeman, of an alien a Cittizen. And seeing I haue recei-

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ued all theſe fauours without any deede or deſert of mine, (God thou knoweſt mine vnworthines) I were but too ingrate and vnkinde, if I ſhould bury in darke and deepe ſilence your ſo rare aud religious demerites. But whereas I haue no other thing to render or repay vnto your Honors, but a mine of thanks, and a thankfull minde, that mind wil I alwaies beare, and that duety in minde, ſo that I will not ceaſe to worſhip the ſacred memory of your religious loue towardes me.

Another cauſe is, the very nature of the argumente I vndertake, the which I could not well proſecute, without ſome particular mention of the Church of England. In the which, ſeeing I haue now my part and portion of a paſtoral prouince (and praiſed be the Lord, my lotte is fallen vnto me in a faire ground) might I not ſeeme vnmindfull of my good & neglecting my duty, if when I vndertake the cauſe of thoſe Churches which are alien and outlandiſh, I ſhould ouerſlip the ſtate of mine own Church now gremiall to me and mere Engliſh? But when mine hearts deſire and praier to God is, that I may ſome waies benefite my countreymen, if I forget thee O Ieruſalem? And yet if I ſhould forget my duety herein, the meere alliance and relation of the matters them ſelues, is ſuch and ſo great, as that by ordinary courſe of neceſſary conſequence I muſt be inforced, to inferre and prefer the mention thereof in my bookes. But becauſe I am but new made of Flemiſh, ſterling, that is, of Outlandiſh, Engliſh, it may be happely, that they which are home-bred, will thinke I deale not wel with them, to deale with them, and that I meddle too farre, when I come ſo neare. For which cauſe I thought it neceſſarye for mee, to commend and commit my ſelfe vnto your Honorable patrocinie, that this ſtranger book might freely paſſe vnder your ſafe conduct. Neither ſhall it grieue me much, though it be vniuſtly caſt by moſt voices, if it may iuſtly paſſe your accoumpt: neither ſhall it hurt me much, though the inraged multitude in diſordered throngs caſt ſtones at mee, only if your Honors vouchſafe to giue me the white ſtone.

But

But the laſt cauſe is, for that I am in ſome doubt, how this diſcourſe will be taken of them, for whoſe ſakes eſpecially it was vndertaken. For it is to be feared, that they are ſo far from turning ſtones vnto bread, that they will make ſtones of bread, and that which I haue done to relieue their weakenes, they will account as deuiſed to vndermine their eſtate, and ſo take that with the left hand, which I proffer with the right. And in deede what other thing ſhoulde I looke for at their hands, who (in lieu of my well deſeruing towards them) haue ſought heretofore, rather to caſt me off with diſgrace, then to giue me vp with reward? How deſirous I haue alwaies beene of publique peace, and howe zealous ouer them that layd ſnares for my life, I dare appeale vnto God and men: and yet for my good will what great reward haue I receiued at their handes, but ſharp reuenge, or what better meede for my paines, then bitter malice?

But no reaſon I ſhould take this kinde of cruelty vnkindly, ſeeing it is ſo common a caſe, and commonly incident to me, with many my betters. And therefore far be it from me, that the iniuries of a few (though no fewe iniuries) ſhould ſo far preuaile with me, that I ſhould therefore leſſe regard the better health of the whole Church. Should I be for priuate wronges ſo far inraged beyond all ſence, and beſides my ſelfe, as to ſtudy to bee reuenged vppon many good men, being offended but of a few bad fellowes.

After I was laſt called frō hence by the Belgike Churches, I conuerſed among them in diuers places ten whole yeares together: in what time I found by aduiſed experience, that there were two thinges of great moment greatly miſſed in thoſe Churches, the which I could not then without grief, and cannot now without ſin conceale, namely, *That the miniſtery of the Goſpell receiued of them by publike authority, is not adorned by them with due honor:* And againe, *That wealth and worſhippe in the order of the miniſtery, is thought a needleſſe thing to aduaunce the eſtimation thereof in a ciuill ſociety.* (Men that we are) miſconceauing is the cauſe of all this. For now a

daies (for sooth) no Church is thought reformed, vnlesse *First all Church dignities, be either thrust out at the Church porch, or thrust downe to the belfry*, and then *all the Church goods, be either put in the great bagge, or giuen to the greedy baggage*. The which errour if it doe proceed (as it will if it be not nipt in the head) it will one day reuele, not only vpon the church, but also vppon the whole state a greater misery, then can easely be driuen into euery common mans head. To the which this also may be added, that there are many of opinion (and they are of many opinions) *That the abolishing of Bishops is not the least part of reformation*, and *That their authority in the Church is crept in, not of any diuine institution of Gods word, but* (that which not any Church before this time did euer auouch) *of the onely errour and ambition of mans wit*. Our elders & all auncient diuines (for the preuenting of Scisme, and conuenting the head-strong and giddy headed rashnes of many) helde the prudent moderation of one (in one Citty or prouince) to be ordained from aboue. And they knew very well, that albeit the quirke of speaking (for so they speak) be found in many, yet the art of gouerning, and the rule of well ruling, is knowen but of a few.

How great a stay a godly and prudent Bishop may bee, to any troubled or distressed State, auncient histories doe plainly teach, & present experience might make vs learne. Doe you not knowe (I know you are not ignorant) howe that many times, many things betide in a christian common wealth, which require the aduise of Ecclesiastical Prelates? As also where the Gospell is publiquely authorised, that there are many thinges requisite for the Church, which cannot be effected with out the ciuill Magistrate? And how then, are not they in a peeuish and a peruerse errour, which either exclude the Magistrate from causes Ecclesiasticke, or sequester the Minister from affaires politike? (silly men that they are) as if either the Christian Magistrate were no part of the Church, or the sacred Minister not Cittizen of the same common wealth? And yet neither the Magistrate (if he be Christian) is to neglect the safety of the Church,

Church, nor the Miniſter (if he be godly) not to regard the ſafegard of the ſtate. But theſe two (the Magiſtrate and the Miniſter) ſo long as they ſhalbe diſtracted into partes, and as it were diuorſed in ſtate the one from the other, and ſhall not take ſweete counſell together like friends, or not communicate in conſent for their common benefite, they cannot but conceiue diuers and doubtfull ſurmiſes, fonde yea, and ſome times falſe opinions of each others gouernement. The Magiſtrate that keepeth freſh in memory the new broken yoke of the Popes tiranny, feareth leaſt by any meanes he ſhould fall againe into the like, though vnlike. And therfore is iealous ouer the counſels and conuenticles of the Cleargy, & ſuſpecteth alwaies ſome ſnare to be laid in them to entangle his liberty. Of the other ſide, the Paſtors (ſo many as are, or will bee accoumpted faithfull in their Miniſtery) cãnot but be careful for the welfare of their flocke, and therefore ſeeke by all meanes to benefite the Church, and to ſhun thoſe things which may preiudice the ſame: who when they ſee diuers kindes of people to preuaile in the Common-wealth, and they ſome of them open profeſſed enemies to the Church, ſome but ſuſpicious and ſuſpected fauorites, few faithfull and vnfeined friendes; no woonder though they dare hardly commit their cauſe and their credites, them ſelues and their ſafeties, to ſuch Gouernours. Beſides, they being ignorant of the common counſels, how ſhould they bee good interpreters of ſuch thinges as are done in the Common-wealth? neither can ſuch counſels be well communicated to the common people, and yet reaſon would they ſhould, ſeeing they are common.

If the States in the Low-countries (brought to lowe eſtate) had their learned and reuerend Biſhoppes, in that eſtimation they ought to be, in euerie well ordered ſtate, no doubt with their vigilancye and moderation, they might more eaſily haue remedied their preſent miſeries. I did complaine (not without cauſe,) to ſee the Church goods pilde and pilferd, and learned Paſtors ſet to their ſtipẽds: Of the which, ſome in deed do liue & releeue their families (though

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porely God knowes) and some againe for the moity of their stipēds, & the multitude of their familiars, are by no means able to keepe open shop windowes. I speake not, (or neede not) of them which are denied their wages, or serue (like our soldiers) for cheese flemish, if that they can get it. But by this meanes, when as (to the griefe of al good men) I did see the most sacred studie of Diuinity to languishe, that young wits were affraid of it, and old heads a weary of it, Churches without Pastors, Schooles wanting professors: I lamented with my selfe, and sorrowed for these mischiefes, and those wee might easily coniect, would issue out of these as out of Pandoraes box. Neither did I sorrowe for these thinges to my selfe alone: I acquainted my griefs, where I was acquainted. But because in those intempestuous times, I could not safelie either speake, or write my minde, without suspect of contention, couetousnes, or ambition, I conteined my selfe discontēt, expecting a fitter opportunity. In the mean while, I could haue wished that this argument might haue bin vndertaken of some other, and of some other profession: And that doubtlesse might haue bene performed of such an one with so much the more ease and lesse enuie, by howe muche the matter did lesse concerne himselfe. But seeing no man offered himselfe to this seruice, (and the seruice honorable) after manye delaies, I ouercame my selfe at last, and in the zeale of my dutie, haue vndergon that burthen, which *Atlas* himselfe can not sustaine alone: and therefore in the conscience of mine owne weaknes, I come loaden to your Honors with mine ouer-burden, and laye downe the same in three little bookes vnder your names (thrise reuerend and renowned.) And this also haue I done with the greater confidence, and the lesse conflict, for that both the trueth of the cause it selfe, wil bear me vp, that I slip not, and also your honorable fauours (as I hope) wil beare me out, if I slip not.

And now, if it shall please God to put them in some better mind, whome these things do chiefly concerne, so that these may be commended of them, and they amended by these, I verely shall reioyce in them, but they shall be behol-

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ding vnto you. But if these thinges displease them, and they finde themselues offended with my liberty, I shal find others (I doubt not) as amorous of the present truth, as they are of their priuate humor, and as far in loue with reuerend antiquitie, as they are in liking with insolent noueltie; vnto whom I perswade my selfe (though they should fore-speake the contrarie,) this my labour shall not bee altogeather vnwelcome. Wherefore for your Honors I will pray, and importune the most great and Almighty, that he would vouchsafe to giue you life, euen a long life, for the benefite of the Church, and the aduancement of the kingdome of Christ.

London 4. Kal. April. Anno Dom. 1590.

Your Honors most bounden

Hadrian Saranus

TO

TO THE GODLIE AND

Faithfull Ministers of the Church of Christ, *throughout the Low-countries, my brethren* beloued in the Lord.

AT what time I liued at Leiden (worshipfull and beloued) I many times, with many of you, bewailed the state of the Church there: In the which, the deuill, (the deuill it is) spreadeth his net, as many other waies, so especiallie now e with a certaine newe slight after another fashion: In the which he hath his gins and engins, nothing like vnto those of olde; when hee went a birding with gainefull hipocrisie, and entangled the soules of Christian people with a kind of costlie superstition: then did the Cleargie, and the Layitie ambitiouslie contend, (as yet they continue vnder the Papacie) whether should exceed the other: they in their pompous sanctimonie, or these in their superstitious munificencie: So they, sold (and sell) at a deare reckoning: these, bought (and buy) at the hucsters handes: The one deceiuing, the other deceiued; both in an error, neuer a better. And is it not strange to see (a thing that is not strange,) how superstition and hypocrisie is of more force and preuaileth more, to conquere and lead captiue the minds of men, then true and sincere religion, which is pure and plaine, without wealt or gard? But such is either the negligence of men, or the nature of man, it will be deceiued, and will deceiue. Who is able to recompt (and keepe reckoning,) the quircks and the tricks, the gybing and the iugling of the Romaine Alcaron, by the whiche they hold play with the simple, and play noddie with the peoples simplicitie? The paines of Purgatorie, the Popes pardons, Images, false miracles, pilgrimage to statues, shrines and crosses, reliques of saints, bones, teeth, and ashes, vestments, belts, and sandals, and a thousand such like trumperies? These are the martes and the marchandise which they make ouer to the peple for his treasure, while they sel the people for olde shooes, What should I more say? They say themselues, (and the more shame) they are not ashamed to say: That these and such like, are the Religious illusions of the Religious. What

a com-

a commodious craft auricular confession is, the Iesuits (besides other the Romish Prelates minions) doe feele, and find. But now adaies, because the true Ministers of Christ, and the faithfull stewardes of his house are not trained vppe in these trades, nor guiltie of these traines, they are set at naught of naughtie men.

And yet of olde, when the people doted ouer their false Gods, and spared for no cost, so they might satisfie their soules with neuer-satisfied superstition, they were notwithstanding nothing so ranke in seking to satisfie the rauine of that vnkind lust towards their false God and his worship, as they were slowe and slacke to inquire after the true God his seruice, and his true seruants: and why then should it seeme a thing rare or insolent among vs, if the like kinde of vnkindnes be reuolued vpon vs in this age? For man to man, and age to age is as like, as is the water to the water, day to day, to day and heareafter.

In what honour and estimation the Ministers of the Church are among the Romanists, is well knowen to such as either now liue, or at anie time haue liued amongst them. But now, amongst vs the professors of the Gospell, they which sincerely teach the true religion, and truly teach what way leadeth to heauen, and by what means we are reconciled to God, ar ether nothing at al acounted, or as nothing. Is any thing (for honour sake?) for pittie sake yeelded vnto them? it is by and by thought much of, and thought too much, bee it neuer so little. For which sinne, not onely the vnkindnes of the people is to bee condemned, as principallie guiltie, but our owne foolishnes also may be conuicted, as accessorie faultie. And howe? Forsooth a toy hath taken vs in the head, and we haue taken a toy in hand, by surprising the Popes tyrannie, to suppresse our owne liberty: As if indeede, the excessiue riot, and not expleable auarice of the Popish Cleargie could by no possible meanes be rebated, vnlesse wee thrust downe the reformed Ministerie beneath the Bell-ferie, and hand ouer head lay waste all the possessions of the Cleargie. A passing deuice indeede, to bring this to passe (as it hath alreadie brought it within come to passe) that the Church wanteth wherewith to nourish the sacred Muses, and is faine to honour the painefull Minister with monethly menstruous fees.

From hence is foisted into the Church, a kinde of temporall

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biter, after a new fashion & an euil example: who chiefly attending, vpon their own drudgerie, by the way ioyne hand with the Pastor in his prouince, and that for a yeare or two at the most (that they may be good in their office.) And by this meanes, (that which I account worse then all the rest) the beautie of the Church is vanished, and that vnited force of the brethren which in placed in one Bishop, who dare with confidence, and may with authoritie controule the wicked in their enterprises, is vtterlie lost and languished. For whilest euerie one is dispised, all are contemned. and likewise, whilest euerie one taketh care of his owne Curch onelie, they altogeather neglect the good of the whole Church generallie. I spare to exemplifie this: your selues suppose, what, and where vpon I speake it. But doe you not see, or can you not conceiue, how that many things may daily chance in the Church, which concerne all Churches in common, and for the which, a present remedie must be had? In this case no priuate man dare vndertake the cause: and why? he seeth and considereth that the matter pertaineth not to him, or to anie one, or to a few, but vnto all the rest of that whole Prouince in common. But whilest hee which could find in his heart to put himselfe vpon the action for the common good, yet findeth many doubts in his hart, and is stil affeard least either himselfe should not be allowed, or that he should perform not confirmed, by the rest; of necessitie the time is deferred in this necessitie, and needs must a further time be expected, vntil the brethren may bee assembled. That a Synode should bee called for euerie such matter, it is both costly and inconuenient: and many times also before either they could be called, or come togeather, either the mischief that was feared would be receiued, or the occasion that was profered would be ouer-passed, whereby the euil might ether altogether, or more easily haue bene remoued.

Amongst you, the Church-goods are rifled and ruined without anie reuerend regard of sacred or prophane: as if (forsooth) it were religion for the Church of Christ to bee woorth one dodkin in a christian Common-wealth: or as if indeed it were the onely errour of the Church of Rome, that they are rich. Doth anie thing remaine yet vnransackt in any of your Churches? the better for those Burgreeues and Burgomaisters in whose handes it is. As for your selues, there is not so much as one mite left to bee at your disposing:

you that stand so much in your own light, and haue put out two lights with your too much lightnes, can you put out mine with an halfpenie? alas good soules: if you were euerie one poore, yet might you be all rich. But now it is the cõmon opinion, that Pastors ought of congrutie to be poore and needie: and that is so deeplie infixed in the harts of the simple peple, that they can hardly be perswaded to the contrary. Is it possible, but by such meanes it should one day come to passe (if they thus proceed) that the whole Ministery of the Church should fal either into vtter decay, or wretched contẽpt? I was purposed (if I had staied with you) to haue conferred about this matter with the States themselues. And verely I would haue exhorted and intreated thẽ, that they would take some better course in this cause: I would haue taught them, that they had no right at all vnto the church-goods: I would haue proued and protested vnto them, that whatsoeuer calamities haue befallen the Low-countries, they are al but the iust vengeance of God for their sacrilege: that the goods of Cathedrall and Collegiat churches, and also of many Monasteries, were destinate and consecrated to the vse of sacred studies: And last of all, I would haue informed them, and confirmed to them, that whatsoeuer hath varied from the first institution therof, ought not to be destroyed, but restored by the christian Magistrate. But this my good purpose was hindered, first by the vntimely death of the Prince of Orange, and then also for the Earle of Leycester his sake: Least I might seeme to haue attempted the same, either at a bad time, (in the greatest tumult of the countrey) or els by bad means (presuming vpon the fauour and furtherance of my L. the Earle.

In the meane while, I might greatly wonder at the error of many, and they not meanely conceited towards the Gospel: neither should I cease to wonder, were it not that I knowe the Ministers themselues, whome the matter doth more neerly concerne, to bee the authours of that error. But when I consider with my selfe the iniquitie of these euill daies, and the bad meaning of euil men, I cannot wel tell whether I might rather lament or reioyce in that their foule ouersight. For albeit to haue the churches spoyled & left desolat of such helps with the which it ought to be releued, may bring vpon both Church and State a greater misery then many can suspect, or any can auoyd: notwithstanding, that in the beginnings of reformation, there was

nor mention nor motion made for the Church-goods, it greeueth me the lesse, for that by this meanes the aduersarie cannot well say, that we rather sought the treasure of the Church, then the glorie of God. For had they made anie question of the Church-goods, these cauils and quarrels might haue taken some aduantage of them. But now, when as they esteemed of whatsoeuer the Papists possessed, as of things nothing pertaining vnto them, and referred all the whole matter to the moderation of the Magistrate; by this meanes, Suspicion it selfe could not but cleare them of suspicion. So God sometimes doth vse the verie ignorance of his seruants, to some good end: *namelie*, when as a truth taught out of time, would doe more hurt then good. *Notwithstanding, that which sometimes hath beene obiected, can neither be denied nor defended; that there were some which tooke our part in hope of the pray onely. And albeit these things were not altogether vnknowen vnto the godlie at that time, (as their writings doe witnesse) yet in wisdome they chose rather to suffer and say little to that iniurie, then that in hast they should goe about to offend any. And in this they did imitate Saint* Paule, *who in the rich Cittie of* Corinth, *had rather labour with his hands, and so get his maintenaunce, then otherwise to giue anie occasion of suspect to a nouice people, not seene into the dignitie of his right Apostolique. And shall I tell you? that onely consideration was not the least cause, why my selfe dared not bewray vnto euery one the silence of my thoughts: And yet (such was my natiue weakenes, or my foole-hardie forwardnes) I could not hide my selfe from my brethren and companions, and some also of the Magistrats of* Gaunt. *But I spake not then so freely, as I meane to doe in this discourse: For I alwaies feared, as I ought to do, least such as were but newly wonne to the faith of Christ, might be haplie lost by my indiscreet libertie, and my selfe brought into a needlesse gealosie of auarice and ambition.*

But now, seeing I am in that place and condition, in the which no man can iustly accuse me, as if I sought any especiall commoditie for my selfe, or desired any other thing, then that which is commodious and necessary for the Church: I thought it my duty to speake plainely, what I thinke of the goods and possessions of the Church. Neither is it enough for mee, that I am heere well prouided for my

selfe: I wish the like vnto my brethren. And although I may iustlie complain my self, to be iniuriouslie forsaken of you, whom I ought to haue found the chief Patrons of mine innocency: yet notwithstāding, my loue and my Zeale, both towards the Church, and also vnto you-wards, is not therefore either altered, or alienated. And how then should I be lesse carefull for yours & your Churches good, then when my selfe was in the same ship with you? Wherefore, seeing we haue now sufficientlie winked at this errour, as well of the people, as the Magistrate, which (if it be suffered) will bring to the Church, either a deadly ruine, or a desperate mischiefe: we may no longer dissemble the matter; the Church it selfe must be taught hir duetie towards hir Ministerie. It is a perilous & pernitious thing, to bequeath an euill president vnto our posteritie: who shall take all for reformation, whatsoeuer they receaued in the name of Reformation (for what cause so euer it was done.) Men (as you know) for the most part, vse rather to regard the deed, then to respect the cause: what is doone euerie man can tell, but for what cause it was doone, there are few which can conceiue, or well consider.

I must needes confesse, I haue proceeded some-what farther into this matter, then my purpose was, when I came first hither: For that I see heere in England, by the euill presidents of other Countries, most men are carried away with the same errors. Some streine their consciences so farre, and open their mouthes so wide, that like dronken men they stretch and yawne after the Church-liuings, and doe euen gourmandize them already in their hopes merciless, and bottomeles conceits. And some againe while they grutch the Pastors their fields, and enuie the Euangelique Bishops the riches of Romish Prelates, (as if it were not lawefull for vs to succeed them, and not exceed them) would seme to eat their hearts in garlike (as they say) while they eat and spit their owne gall in malice. A strange opinion they hold, that the place, power, and authoritie, it hath pleased her Maiestie and the rest of the States, the Bishops should reteine in this kingdome, is a grant vtterly auerse vnto the reformation of religion. Wherefore now, what honour is due in a Christian Commonwealth to the Ministers of the Church, and how forforth the same may extend, is to be examined more at large.

But it is to be feared, least some will be scarcely well pleased,

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especially such as be ignorant of the auncient Church gouernment) with this my treatise of the diuers degrees of the Ministers of the Gospell: and the rather, for that I haue noted in their newe-come reformation two things not to be liked of: namely, that the autentique order of Bishops is abrogated, and a nouell kinde of Presbyters intruded. The which I haue the rather noted, for that the common sort of people are of opinion, that not the least part of reformation consisteth in the dilapidation of Church-goods, in the extirpation of Prouinciall Bishops, and in the creation of Demi-laicall, and mongrell Presbyters. The which opinion of the people, I doe therefore reprehend, not that I disallow, that certaine graue seniours and godlie men should consort with the Pastors, (that is, the true Presbyters of the Church:) but that they may know, (as they shall be taught) not to mistake them for those Elders, of the which, in the Actes of the Apostles, and in Paules Epistles there is often mention, and is it not needful also, to point at an error betimes, least it beeing by time confirmed, should not afterwardes be easilie corrected?

If any man shall thinke my selfe in the error, or that I haue gone further then he liketh well of: let him teach me that which is better, I will presently alter my iudgement, and giue ouer the bucklers vnto him that can do best. The which I speake not as if I doubted, or were not thorowlie resolued, that those things of the which I affirme in this book, were not assumed out of gods book. (For I do verely beleeue that I haue not swarued frō that rule which God hath giuen me to follow.) But yet, if any man presume he can teach the contrary out of the word, (and make not the word contrarie) I am more ready to attend and be taught, then to teach, and had rather bee ouercome, then ouercome: condition, that that onely truth may preuaile, which in truth ought to preuaile. In the meane while, as I haue alwaies borne, and beare with such as dissent in opinion from me, (so long as they holde intire the Lorde Iesus:) so likewise in the same charity may they beare with me, if I dissent from them. I hartelie wish, and intreat earnestly. If it shall please God, by the counsel of christian Princes, that there may be a generall and a free counte'l celebrated, that (as it becommeth me) I refuse not to bee iudge of my iudgement: but if otherwise, neither I can bee perswaded by others,

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nor perswade others: let vs expect with one accord the iudgement of Almightie God, when euery one shal render according to the moitie of his talent, a reason of his Ministerie. For me to contend with my brethren after a bitter manner? it is no part of my meaning. If in any place my stile shall seeme more sharpe: beleeue me, (I will not fable with you) the greatnes of the mischiefe, not any priuat griefe, hath set an edge on it. And to speake reason, what reason haue I to be violent, or virulent in this question? Seeing whatsoeuer is helde amisse, I impute it to the error and ignorance of art, not to the malice or euill meaning of men.

The horrible sacrilege of men is not so manifest to the world, as the execrable authors thereof are vnknown vnto me: (and it greueth me not that they are vnknowen.) Of whome then should I exclaime? Against whome should I declaime? But whereas certaine vngodly men are craftely crept in amongst vs, who make a shewe of religion, and would seem to fauor the Gospell, and that not so much of any deuotion towards God, as in detestation of all godlines: I am constrained many times, more earnestly to inueigh against the subtiltie and impietie of such: (let them be of what estate they may be, if they be of that condition) For neither are our owne colours cleare of such staines: against whome can there bee anie worme-wood too bitter?

This I note, that if at any time I name the Hollonders, I note not the whole nation: (God forbid) but onely those that degenerate from the naturall integrity of their owne nation. But are not they so muth the more worthy greater ignominy, by how much the more fondly they abuse their owne authority, and the peoples simplicitie? such therefore I must necessarilie, and may worthelie accuse of Atheisme and irreligion, the rest, I cannot excuse of errour and ignorance onely. Indeed error and ignorance doe sometime mitigate the guilt of the offender, but neuer can it obliterate the staine of the offence.

It will seeme a hard matter I know vnto some, that sacrilege should be openly reprehended, and vnto some an absurd thing, that in the policy of the Church, Bishoppes should be required. For there are here in England a certaine number of wicked men, (and I am very sorie for them) who are so farre out of order with that

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order, as if no Ecclesiasticall Discipline were to be had vnder them. Amongst whome, the quarrell is growen so farre, that nowe they denorce themselues from the communion of the Englisth church, as Papisticall and Antichristian, and so betake themselues to their priuate and not permitted conuenticles. VVhome I could doe no lesse then lightly note in this place, because they seem to patronage their odious scisme, and mutinous huggor-muggar by the precedent presidents of our foraine Churches. O God thou knowest, and themselues cannot bee ignorannt, that the first peregrine churches which were heere in England, had their Lord Bishop Alasco, and these which at this day are vnder the protection of the most gracious Elizabeth, doe acknowledge the Bishops of those Dioceſſes in the which they are, and to them they supply. But (thankes be vnto God) there are others, who being somewhat more milde and moderate in their proceedings, doe not altogeather estraunge themselues from the assemblies of their churches: but yet, they haue the Bishops in emulation also, and promise vnto themselues a golden worlde, could they but once bring to passe, that by a preposterous Alchymy of earthly pollicy they could turne gold into drosse, that is, Bishops into Presbiters, & their reuenues into annuities. But to them I dare say, and can foreshew, that they shal bring, themselues? The whole state Ecclesiastik into deepe disdaine, disdaine worse then themselues deserue. And whereas (the Lord be praised for it) we haue now some good Discipline, it will come to passe that then they shall haue none at all, but voluntary, which as soone as it is begone, will be gone. I omit the tumults and contentions with the which they shall first trouble and turmoyle both heauen and earth. But this is plaine, and I dare promise them, that they which were the first authors thereof, will proue their first enemies, so sone as vnder these colours they shal haue obtained their desires.

The calamities of your present churches your selues see, and suffer: but from whence they arise, or what is the true remedy (pardon me, I beseech you, if I speake as I thinke) you seeme not to see or conceiue at all.

Doe you not heare of the turbulent state of other Churches? and you know what they were from the beginning. Where, if they had intertained for a popish Prelat, a true B B. & for Romish masmongers

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Euangelique Ministers, contented and contenting themselues, with the rites and reuenues of their owne Churches: no doubt all thinges amongst them, had continued more peaceable and prosperous, aswell in Church as, Common-wealth.

The like I affirme of other prouinces, from whence is exiled the tyrant of Churches. But what can be done, where the mindes of men are foreseasoned with preiudice, and alreadie resolued, That to bee ruled by bishops, and to be releeued by Tythes (and other oblations of the people,) is a point of Poperie.

But may I not be so bolde to tell them, (and I will tell them but the truth) that these, and such like medicines as they go about to administer vnto the Church maladies, are like to prooue but prouocations vnto further mischiefes? Admit the drugs they concoct be not simplie offensiue, yet is it to be considered, (and wise men wil consider) whether the faintnes and infirmitie of the whole body of the common-wealth, may abide the same. Here there is need of great wisedome, & no lesse moderation: the which as it may be in many, so must it be in one, which may execute the same: and this is he, which is not to looke ouer one part, but to watch ouer all, not of the whole worlde, (which neuer any mortall thing, or could, or can,) but of one Cittie or prouince, so farre forth as the power of man may extend it self. And may wee not also more saflie walke in the steppes of the auncient fathers, then rashlie to step aside into tracts of our owne treading?

Now, how you will accept of this my libertie, I cannot well tell, but I hope well of you, and commit the whole cause vnto God himselfe. This I am perswaded, and this haue I learned, that in an vnstayed estate, it is not the part of a good Cittizen, to suspend his censure of the Common-wealth, nor of a faithfull Christian, to suppresse his opinion of the Church of Christ. For mine owne part, if in this daungerous enterprise, I shall obtaine that onelie, which I haue propounded vnto my selfe, I shall haue iust occasion to giue thankes vnto my GOD: but if it fall out otherwise, yet shall I haue discharged my duetie vnto my Brethren, and performed my vowe to the Church of GOD. Vnto the whiche, I haue hitherto thought my selfe indebted as muche as this comes vnto, That a knowen errour ought not to bee ouer-slipped in the silence of mee.

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But put case, I doe smale good vpon those, for whose sakes especially I haue traueiled in this duetie; yet shall their remaine a perpetuall note of that notorious errour vnto all posteritie, that they yet at the length may amend that, in the which they haue found their Fathers to haue benesaultie.

London the fourth of the Kal. of Aprill.

Desirous of your welfare:

Hadrian Sarauia.

WHosoeuer thou bee (gentle Reader,) into whose hands this booke shall come, in any case I would not haue thy minde troubled with this discourse, as if we did reuerse som graund Article of thy faith, when wee doe but restore, (for so we holde it behofefull) the graue Senat of Bishops into the reformed Churches (so called.) Doe we crosse herein the iudgement of some late writers of great name? Why then iudge you, (and iudge me worthie of double blame) if I should be either so frontlesse, or so forgetfull at least, as to aduenture vpon this contradiction, of mine own head: suppose ye me at the least, backt with the piller of truth, (the sacred scripture) and borne out with the consent of the auncient Fathers, and countenaunced with the continued custome of the whole Church. What then? (Will you saye) did they, whome you cal men of name, see nothing? I answere, they did see indeede, that which I see: But as they which take vpon them to repaire an old house, albeit within dores there bee many pretie romes, and necessarye corners, which they would willinglie, and might well bee reserued; yet notwithstanding, when they beholde on euery side, the most partes rotted and ruinated, and those good partes to hang togeather by putrified and imperfect ioyntes, they are in dispaire, that the house can not bee well turguised, except the whole frame should be ouerturned: Euen so the reformers of gods house, albeit they did see to their greife, manye excellent things which might well, and well worthie, bee reserued, yet perceiuing them to be either vtterly disteined with superstition, or doubtfullie entangled therewith, and consequentlie dispairing, that they could not roote out the grounded superstition and tyrrany of the pope, vnlesse they plucked vp by the roots many singular ornaments of the church; in the anguishe of their zeale they cried at once, downe with it, downe with it, euen to the ground. And so is it come to pas that togeather with impietie and Idolatrie (if not before

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them both) such and so many instruments are taken away, as might haue beene verie great helpes to the Church, both for the preseruing of Discipline, and also for the retaining of that dignitie to the Ministerie, which is decent and requisite in a ciuill societie.

But to the purpose: although in materiall thinges, that which we haue exemplified before, many times must be so of necessitie: yet in morall causes there is no such necessity. The state therefore of this question (friend reader) is not of thy faith in Christ, or of thy souls health, but by what guides especiallye, and gouernours, thou maist bee best lead in the way of truth, and kept in the path of eternall life. And vpon this point is all this variaunce. For there are some of opinion, that all discipline of maners, is to be referred to the Magistrate, and that the Minister is to be restrained to the bare Preaching of the worde, and ministring of the Sacraments. The which fancie of men, seeing it hath neither the word of God to confirme it, nor any president of our Elders to giue countenance to it, I can but wonder, howe so friuelous an opinion, could once either creepe in, or peepe out of the heads of Diuines. But there are other which yeild (as they ought to doe) the power of Ecclesiasticall censures to those Bishoppes and Elders, which are such, both in name and indeede: vnto whome, they deny not that authoritie which God gaue vnto his Apostles, and their successours the Bishops. And last of all, there is a third kinde of them, which reiecting the order of Bishops, ioyne with the Pastor certain annuall Elders, vnto whome they commit the regiment or the Church, and the ordering of Ecclesiasticall Discipline. Thus did the Philosophers of old, when it came in question, what kinde of Gouernment was best: Of whome, some preferred the Monarchie of one, and that (as it is indeed) they iudged the best: yet others maintained, that an Oligarchy or ioynt gouernment of a few, was as good as the best: again there were others, who for a Democratie, or state popular, would yeeld to none of the rest. And last of all, there were some, who to the former three added a fourth, which they

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indifferently, (not equally) mixed ôf all three; and that they would make good, to be as good as they al, and better then any of the reſt. But in the meane while they conſidered not this, that any kind of gouernment as it is in it ſelfe, is not ſo much to bee conſidered in gouernance, as is the nature and condition of them, who are to be gouerned, and for whoſe good that kind of gouernment is ordained. So that nowe, that forme of pollicie is to bee accounted beſt, not which is ſuch in his owne nature, but that which is moſt neceſſary for the people, the time, and the place. For which cauſe, (as I conceaue) GOD himſelfe in the ſecrecie of his wiſedome, hath not ſet downe vnto any nation, any perpetual forme of gouernment, the which it was not lawful to alter according to the incidencie of time, place, and perſons.

But in the gouernment, of the which we diſpute, the caſe is far otherwiſe: for in that it proceedeth immediatly from God, men maye not alter the ſame according to their fancies, neither is it neceſſary: For the wiſedome of God hath ſo tempered the ſame, that it repugneth no form of ciuil gouernment. In deede, where any one whole ſtate is become Chriſtian, the gouernment happelie may receiue ſome kind of alteration, but not ſuch as ſhal alter the nature of it. Were they before in gouernment diuerſe, and in no one thing alike? nowe they conſort in one, and lend each other their mutuall aide. Wherefore, whatſoeuer other men thinke in this matter: doubtleſſe the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, in a well ordered ſtate, ought not to bee held as a priuate perſon, either in Church or common-wealth. The which diſtinction beeing not ſufficientlie looked into, hath diſtracted vs into diuerſe errors in Church Diſcipline. For my part, (and the beſt wil take my part,) I hold, that the ſtate of Biſhops is neceſſary in the Church, & that Diſcipline is beſt and from aboue, in the which, godly Biſhoppes, with the not nick-named Elders do ſit at the helme.

And yet when I conſider with my ſelfe, the badnes of theſe times, and the badde condition of ſome places, in the which it hath pleaſed God, by the hands of learned and reli-

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rious men to gather togeather his disperſed flocke out of the captiuity of Babilon. I doe not ſee indeed, how the true Biſhops could haue bene reſtored. In the Churches of Flanders and Holland, my ſelfe haue ſuſteined the office of a Paſtor: but ſhall I tell you? I cannot eaſily tell, how many impediments I there found in this buſines. But ſhal that which was done extraordinarily, and partly of neceſſity, and that but in a certaine fewe places, and that but in our age onely, preſcribe a law to the world beſides? This diuorce of minds and opinions had neuer bene, were it not for the tyrrany of ſome miſrulie Biſhops, a neuell opinion is crept vp, oppoſing it ſelfe againſt all antiquitie, which holdeth all Biſhops generally in iealouſie: and yet, the like and no leſſe ſuſpicion is raiſed of our newe conſiſtories alſo, wheather rightlye or wrongfully, I will not ſay.

Wherefore, he that will vndoubtedly attaine to the certaine knowledge of theſe thinges indeed, muſt bee ſure, that he examine and try the cauſe him ſelfe, deuoyd of all paſſion or preoccupation of affection. Many times within theſe ſixe and twentie yeares, haue I deliuered my minde vnto my friends in familiar conference, (though not at all times, nor to all) concerning the gouernment of Biſhops. What they would conceiue of mee for ſo doing, I might eaſily coniect by others, who had in like maner reueiled themſelues vnto their brethren. For as it happened, a certaine diſputation fel out between certaine Miniſters, concerning the ſame poſition: in the which M. Doctor Villerius, (whoſe name I cannot remember without due reuerence) aſſumed, that the authority of Biſhops was not ſo raſhly to haue bin reiected. But Lord, how they were netled and neſtled with this? as if with that one word, he had vtterly ouerthowen that equality, which they expected in the French churches, and which they thought requiſite in all Miniſters. O griefe: to me they made knowen their griefe, and (pittifull complaining) they complained to me thereof. But what ſhould I heere do? defend him I dared not, (and yet I liked well the cauſe of his opinion,) leaſt I ſhould incur the like ſuſpicion of aſpiring

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thoughts. But from that time forwarde, that conference gaue mee occaſion to ſearch and ſift out more narrowlye, thoſe matters by my ſelfe. And that which then happened to me, I doubt not but is incident to many others with me, who in wiſedome ſee, alſo and conſider, that the authority of Biſhops is greatly wanting in ours, and al Churches.

There are ſome which can indure, nor equall, nor ſuperiour: I giue God thanks, I can ſee my ſuperiour without enuy, and ſuſtaine my inferior without contempt. But now, ſeeing I am heere in England, no man can chalenge my affection as guiltie of a Biſhoppricke, or as if I ſeeke dominion ouer my brethren: (the calling I affect, but not to be called.) And therefore now I dare more boldly, and will more freely ſpeake what I thinke, then before I thought it requiſite; neither was it conuenient, when I conuerſed among brethren neuer-a better.

Yea, but I may ſeeme in this action, to ſooth vp the Byſhops, and ſeeke their countenance: countenance? nay then muſt I ſeeke further, and neuer look the Biſhops in the face, whoſe condition in this thankles age, is more ſubiect to the enuie and obliquie of men, then my ſelfe am. And indeed, if that were all, and all but ſo little, it were the part of a warie child, and him that would husband his credite to make the moſt of it, rather with ſafetie and ſilence to ſay nothing, and with patience and pollicy, to expect the iſſue of theſe things. The which I dare ſaye, I alſo could haue doone as well as others, without diſpleaſure to my ſelfe, or diſfauour to anie. But what moued me, God knoweth: men may conſtrue my fact as themſelues affect: but it is the Lord that iudgeth my ſoule. Notwithſtanding, let the curteous Reader conceiue my meaning in few words: I deſire to benefite the churches alreadie, and to be reformed, to extirpate Sciſme where it is rooted, and to preuent it where it is riſing. He that thinketh this cannot be done by theſe meanes, ſhall haue his own ſaying for me: but yet the euent of things (mother of fooles,) will one day make it plaine, howe good and profitable my meaning was; and in the meane while, the Church (if it be-

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ware not) maye receiue that detriment, which it cannot repaire.

The ground of onr ſaluation, is to know God, & whom hee hath ſent, Ieſus Chriſt our Lorde and Sauiour, the Biſhop of of our ſoules. But as in euerie thing which men goe about: whether weauing, caruing, or any other craft, of the which, either the Citie, or the ciuill Magiſtrate hath any care, that it ſhould bee well done, there muſt bee a decent order kept, and a diligent ouer-ſight had of the works, the which by how much the more curious it is, by ſo much the things themſelues doe flowriſh the better, and continue the longer: So likewiſe in Religion, the ſame order and ouer-ſight ought to be had, if we wil haue the ſame to flowriſh amongſt vs, or to continue pure and intemerate for euer. But that al men doe not agree about the maner of ordering and gouerning the Church, why ſhould that trouble the quiet of anie peace-able man? Doe yee not know, that the more profitable and neceſſarie a thing is to bee vſed, the more lets and delaies are made by the enemy, either to infect, or els to interrupt the vſe thereof? Was there euer at any time, anie thing ſo cleare and manifeſt among men, that was out of all controuerſie? How then knoweſt thou this, that thou knoweſt nothing? Or how commeth it in queſtion among men, whether a man ſeeth, or doth that, which in very deede, hee both ſeeth and doth? Without controuerſie there is no part of Philoſophie or precept of Diuinitie, no point of Religion, which hath not bene called into controuerſie; *This ſore trauaile hath God giuen to the ſonnes of men, that they might be exerciſed therein.* But the vanitie of mans will, detracteth nothing from the veritie of anie thing. And therefore, goe to gentle Reader, be doing with the ſequell, and doe well by it.

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THE PRÆAMBLE.

THe ſurpriſing of the Biſhop of Rome his tyrannie, to whoſe ſcepter (a croiſier) all churches, and kingdomes, and empires were enthralled, is now of late growen ſo hotte, that now a daies, all Primacie, and the name of Primacie is found guiltie, (not guiltie,) and thought worthie to bee exiled the Church of Chriſt: (wiſely.) For by that meanes, all the tyrranie of Prelates may be ſubdued. But they are farre wide in my iudgement. The Tarquines once exiled Rome, the very name of King becam odious amõg them: as if (for-ſooth) with the name of thoſe tyrants, tyrannie had ceaſed. But were they not afterwardes (and then inſtlie) thralled and threſhed, as men threſh corne, with more, & more kinds of tyranny, then if they had retained ſtill the ſoueraine name of Kings and their princely authoritie? Neither indeed, is there any tyrãny at all in the name of a King, but in the nature of a Tarquine. And the like wee may inſtlie ſay in this action: that the pride and tyranny, with the which the Church of Chriſt was wearied and waſted, was not in the Primacie of Biſhops and Archbiſhoppes, but in the perſons which did abuſe their authoritie, and going beyond their commiſſion, extended the bounds of their Prouince, further then might lawfully ſtand with the modeſtie and moderation of chriſtian Religion: by which meanes indeede, the power of Rome is become exceſſiue and inſupportable. But ſhall I now, vppon this bare preſumption, indite of tyranny, the more auncient forme

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of Church pollicie, and ſo many godly men, (or rather Gods amongſt men) of rare learning, ſincere liues, and ſound Religion? Or ſhall I condemne of error, thoſe ſacred and religious Synodes, in the which, holy men of God did ratifie that auncient pollicie of the Church, which with reuerence (as they ought,) they receiued of their godlie predeceſſors? Farre bee that ſinne from my thoughts, as far as is this impure age from their perfections. For albeit I am not ignorant, that both Fathers and Councels may erre, (if they enact againſt the will and word of God,) notwithſtanding, it followeth not, that therefore they erred in this. But if ſo be we were thus equally affected towards others and our ſelues, that as we know a natural infirmitie to be vniuerſallie infuſed in the natures of all men, ſo with all we wold acknowledge the ſame, to be particularlie impriſed in our ſelues alſo: we would then more diligently ſearch and prie into the reprehenſion of our ſelues, rather then of others: But now it is far otherwiſe with vs. Is there anye thing in the Fathers (for ſome eſpeciall cauſe moouing vs) miſliked of vs? By and by we haue this theoreme at our fingers end: We muſt remember, they were but men; *and becauſe men may eaſilie erre, we muſter whatſoeuer we miſ-conceiue of them, among the errors of that age. In the meane while, wee neuer remember our ſelues,* that we alſo are but men, *and therfore may erre with them: yea, we are ſuch men, (neither are we exempt from the common infirmitie of men) who may then er, when we thinke amiſſe of them, and in that verie thing may wee erre, for the which we condemne them.*

This is once: that againſt the conſtant and conſonant concluſions of the ancient church, we ought not to attempt, or admit anie innouation, without a plaine commiſſion from Gods holie writ: and this alſo I dare boldly ſay, that whoſoeuer taketh away al authoritie from the Fathers, he leaueth none for

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himselfe. Indeed it must bee confessed, that the Fathers were men, and that they had their wrinckles: yet can it not be denied, that to haue our Fathers to bee our Patrons in the principal points of faith, and externe pollicy of our church, (things controuerted betweene the Popelings and vs) is a matter of no small moment, and of especiall account. And albeit, the vniformc consent of Gods children from the Apostles times vnto this day, may not be compared with the eternall word of God: Notwithstanding, of right it may come in, and stand for the second place.

The custome of gods people, receiued of all Churches thorow out the whole world, is in maner of a lawe, sacred and inuiolable: Neither is there any likelihood, that there could euer haue beene an vniuersall consort of all Churches and ages, without either the authoritie of gods word, or the tradition of the Apostles. Notwithstanding, for as much as no consent, no custome, no auncient prescription, can, or ought to preuaile in the Church of Christ, against the word of God; Therefore, those reasons are to be weighed, and those Scriptures to bee examined, which mooued the Fathers to intertaine, and continue that Church gouernment, which our newe reformers will in no case agree vpon; that we may certainelie know, whose is the error; theirs, or ours.

The time hath bene, when no good men disallowed of Bishops and Archbishops: but now, in despite of the Popes tyranny, & his complices, it is come to this passe, that their very names are called into question: and that of diuerse men, for diuerse causes. Some, because they are (as they suppose) the deuises of Antichrist, or his fore-runners, thinke them vnworthie thee Church, and worthie to be cast ouer-boorde. Others, yet more modest, in some reuerence of antiquitie, thinke they may be borne with all for a time, (although in the mean

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time they allow not of them) vntill such time, as commodiously the names may bee antiquate with the thinges themselues. In the meane while, for that they know, (neither can they be ignorant) to what singular effect the Church of God hath bin gouerned by graue and godlye Bishops, they haue not the face to condemne them openly: yet because they see certaine reformed Churches of this age, to be gouerned without Bishops: It is enugh: they haue not the power any longer to tollerat the more auncient gouernment. O the regiment of Pastors and Elders passing all antiquitie, our soules haue longed for thee, and we haue a desire vnto thee: for that thou alone art grounded vpon the Lord Iesus his institution, and thou, (if any) art wholy purified of all tyranny and ambition.

O, but by your leaue (good brethren) the shadowe you imbrace, is no substance: neither is the plot you conceaue, a priueledged place. Are you so far in loue with your liueleſſe Pigmalion, the worke of your owne hands? I know who is not: & hee hath reason for his, why not!; For neither is your newe draught of straunge gouernement, sufficientlye prooued by the word of God: neither is it yet, (or can at any time) bee confirmed by the example of our Elders. And how should it? (if we should iudge aright of it) seeing it was partly vnknowen vnto them, as a thing insolent and not heard of: and partlie condemned of them, as a thing Hereticall, and not approoued of. Wherefore, to speake the plaine truth, without flatterie or partialitie: I thinke of this new forme of Church gouernment, as some thinke of our Bishops regiment: Namely, that it is but a deuise of mans conceit, and there to be tollerated, where a better cannot bee obtained. And contrariwise; that which is disallowed of some, as deuised by man, seemeth vnto me to bee the verie ordinance of God, and the onely true gouernment of the Church; as that which hath his institution from God; not

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only in the old, but in the new Testament. But because it is defiled with the manifolde abuses of men: that which were to be layd vppon the person, is imputed to the function; as if (forsooth) no such miscariage might befall this their nouell kinde of gouernement.

The Romish Antichrist, with his Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarches, and Metropolitanes, hath so troubled and intangled the Church of Christ, that tyranny it selfe, is thought to bee masked vnder those honest and honorable titles. It is most true: He that is once stong of a Serpent, suspecteth euery stone: and once bitten of a dog, is affraid of euery cur. Some therefore, that they might apply some remedy to this maladie, haue reuersed those names, and yet retained the same things; and for Bishops, haue anoynted Superintendents, and for Archbishops, generall or prouinciall Superintendents: as if the controuersie were not for the thing it selfe, but for names sake. But (wise as we are) seeing the signification of wordes, is variable and voluntarie: when we agree in truth, what neede these garboyles about termes? If the formes of gouernment, which are signified by those termes, are contained in gods worde; Is there anie reason or sense, that in disgrace of those names, these formes should not be retained of vs? If any man obiect, that in the gouernment of Bishops there are many corruptions: I make no question of that; So wee might cauill with the gouernment of the ciuill Magistrate: hath it not his corruptions? Haue they not their infirmities? Yet was there neuer anye that had his fiue wits, who thought that a sufficient reason to remooue those from their place, that are president in the state. Wherefore, our question is not, how the Bishops haue abused their authoritye, but whether the Lorde hath so forbidden this their Primacy, that there may bee, nor Pastor ouer Pastor, nor Bishop ouer Bishop, in the outward pollicie of the Church. As for

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the reſt, if any will accuſe the Biſhops or their Conſiſtories, either of neglect dutie, or corrupt dealing: no man will be their hinderance, why they may not proſecute that, (and perſecute them) before the chiefe Magiſtrate. I take not vppon mee the apologie of anie Biſhop: I am not ſo worthie; they are not ſo weake, as that they need my Pätrocinie; they are able to ſay for themſelues, and to gaine-ſay their accuſers; onely I lament, that the antique order of church gouernement, (of great and long eſteeme with our fore-fathers) ſhould be negligentlie loſt, or violently taken from vs: and I feare me greatly, leaſt in the infelicitie of this age, it be vtterly taken from vs. For who ſeeeth not, and greeueth not to ſee, how men are ſet together vpon miſchiefes? euen to reduce the whole Miniſterie of the church, to the bare Miniſterie of the word.

But this our preſent controuerſie, can by no meanes better bee decided, then by conferring the orders of the Miniſtery in that order as they were ordained of God, and deliuered of the Apoſtles: according to their ſingular degrees, and ſeuerall ſeaſons, as they were then in vſe: So ſhall we eaſily learne, what order is conſonant to the word of God, and what diſſonant: the which, that I may the better performe; there are two thinges which affoord me fit ingreſſe thereunto. The firſt is, the firſt inſtitution of thoſe ſeuerall orders: The ſecond is, that one place of S. Paule to the Epheſians, the fourth chapter, where he ſetteth downe the diuerſe Miniſteries of the church, diſtributed into their ſeuerall degrees. Where in the firſt place are inueſted (as the chiefe Patrons, and firſt Patriarches of the goſpel) Apoſtles; in the ſecond, Prophets; in the third, Euangeliſtes; in the fourth, Paſtors and Doctors. Of all the which, we are now to diſcourſe in their due order. And albeit Paul ſeeme to write of the functions giuen to the church after the Aſſention of Chriſt: Notwithſtanding wee will locke backe a little further

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for this matter, neither will we ceaſe our diligent perſute, vntil wee come to that time and place, in the which Chriſt ſelected his twelue Apoſtles; and ſo returne by the ſeuentie and two Diſciples, whom hee ordained alſo, and added to the Apoſtles, for the preaching of the goſpell throughout Iewrie.

And albeit, this diſcourſe doe chieflie intend the diſtinction of Miniſters; yet by the way, we haue ſomewhat to ſay of Deacons alſo. For whereas the doctrine of life, doth not nuſle vs vppe in anie idle contemplation of good things, but rather traineth vs vp in the practiſe of all goodnes, eſpecially of chriſtian charitie: Therefore of the Miniſterie of the goſpel, there ariſeth an other Miniſtery, which exerciſeth it ſelfe about bodely neceſſaries of this life, and conſequently hath impoſed vppon it the diſpenſation of the church ſtocke: whereby it commeth to paſſe, that there is a twofold Miniſtery of the church: One, which only reſpecteth the glory of God, & ou ſouls helth: An other, which regardeth the procuration of earthly thinges, and the preſeruation of this preſent life. After theſe thinges handled, and ſet out of hand as I may: in the ſequel of this my trauell, I wil intreat of that honor and reuerence, which by the lawe of God, inſtinct of nature, and right of nations, is proper and peculier to the ſacred Miniſter. And laſt of all, againſt the gourmandiers of church goods, I will ſet downe and lay before their eies, the odious ſin of Sacrilege, with the dires and puniſhments accompaning the ſame. And theſe three things, according to the variety of their natures, I haue diſtinguiſhed into three bookes: but becauſe they are of ſome affinitie, and riſe togeather in ſequence, I haue alſo laied them togeather in this one volume.

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Doctor Sarauia, of the diuers degrees of *Miniſters.*

What the Miniſtery of the Goſpell is, and what *bee the partes thereof.*

Chap. I.

Although this preſent Treatiſe doth chiefly aime at the inequality of Miniſters, yet notwithſtanding I take it a good way, or not much out of the way, if we ſet on firſt with the definition of the Miniſtery: that thereby it may the better appear, what is common to the Miniſters among them all, and what is proper to euery one in his particular order.

Vppon diuerſe grounds of the Scripture, diuerſe definitions may be diuerſely framed; but I compriſe them all in one word or two, of the Apoſtle *Paul*: and vppon his bare word I affirme: That the Miniſtery of the Goſpell is a certaine diſpenſation of the myſteries of God, which were reuealed vnto the world by the comming of Chriſt. Where I cal a myſtery, not only that doctrine of the wonderful couſaile of God in the redemption of mankinde, but alſo all other things which God hath annexed vnto that doctrine. And thoſe I reſolue into three ſortes: Whereof the firſt is, The preaching and publication of the Goſpell: the ſecond is, The vſe and adminiſtration of the Sacraments: the third is, The exerciſe and execution of Eccleſiaſtical gouernment.

1.Cor. 4. 1.
1.Tim. 3,16.

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The preaching of the Gospell is a sacred Embassee in the name of Christ, in the which sinners are intreated to reconcile themselues to God; or thus; It is the publishing of that doctrine of free pardon of sinnes, which Christ himselfe sued forth from his Father, and purchased with his precious death; or otherwise also thus; It is the doctrine of the free iustification & sanctification of the holy Ghost, which is obtained by faith in Christ Iesus. Many other definitiõs might be added, were it not that I delight to be briefe: Of these, if you conceiue what the Gospel is, and the preaching therof, it sufficeth, & I am satisfied. To the second part of this ministery, do appertaine the commands of the Lord, to baptise the faithfull and to administer the Lords Supper. But to the third part (which is of gouernmẽt) is reserued the power of the keies of heauẽ, & the preheminence of binding & losing vpon earth. And this authority hath two branches, whereof the one cõprises the Ordaining of Ministers, the other cõprehendeth the Censure of maners. By this power the Apostles ordained Bishops and Elders in the church, vnto whom they demised their authority; that all things might be done duely and decently, and that good order might be mantayned in the Church of Christ. In the assurance of this power, the Apostle deliuereth vnto Sathan, the stiffe necked and selfe willed enemies of the truth; & of this power, in his Epistles he many times interferteth imperious menaces with gentle admonitions. But of this matter there is some controuersie in these daies: haue you not heard of it? neither did our fathers. For there be some of strange opinion (but strongly opinionat) that the whole Cẽsure of maners is to be set ouer to the Magistrate; and how so? because it appertayneth to his dury to take care for good order and publicke honesty, and to take punishment of disordered persons & pernicious offẽces. But to the Pastor (vnder a christian Magistrat) no such matter. Let him only teach vertue and taxe vice, and administer the Sacraments hand ouer head. In deed he may admonish al men to proue thẽselues before they eat of that bread and drinke of that cup: to the which if they do obay, it is so much

Mat. 16. 19. and 18. 18.

Act. 14. 13.

much the better, but if not, yet that muſt be left between God and their conſcience. Forbid any man the Communion? God forbid.

Is it not to be wondered, that they which confeſſe that the Miniſter hath power of binding, ſhould not conſider that the ſame Miniſter hath the like power of looſing alſo? Doe they not know, that there is the like reaſon of them both? or can they not conceyue, that the effects being contrary, they are performed of the Paſtor with contrary actions? It is without all controuerſie, that ſinners are looſed by the Miniſters, when remiſſion of ſinnes in the name of Chriſt is pronounced to the faithfull; But when as by the ſame power, the wrath of God and vengeance eternall is denounced againſt the vnfaithful, and that they are denied the ſweete comfort of the holy Sacraments, who doubteth, but that they are bound in like ſort? Is it not abhorring from the duety of a faithfull Paſtor, to let in Wolues into his maſters ſheep-fold? ſo is it alſo, if he thruſt not out thoſe, which are cloſely crept in. If ſo be it ſo fall out, that any man fall from the faith after baptiſme, or when he confeſſeth Chriſt with his lips, that he deny him in his life, and within himſelf crucify agayn the God of life; What? is there here no part of the Paſtors office to be perfourmed? He ſhall reſtrayn (they will ſay) the diſobedient, & releaſe the penitent. Very good. But ſeeing theſe things cannot be done, but with contrarie facultyes; as to the penitent he ſhall pronounce the ſweete promiſes of Gods mercy and receiue him into the Church; So to the diſobedient hee ſhall denounce all the dires and execrations of Gods wrath, (that he is a recreant from the kingdome of God, that he is exiled the Citty and forbidden the houſe of God) and he ſhall deny the dogge returned to his vomit, the bread of the children of God. Wherfore as a faithfull diſpenſer of the myſteries of God baptiſeth none that was once an infidel, without ſome publique confeſſion of his faith: ſo neyther doth he receiue to the Communion a notorious ſinner, without apparant conuerſion of life. This is olde Diuinity.

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But to ſpend many words in the confutation of this conceit, is no part of my meaning, neither would it quite for coſt; this only cauſe would require a whole quire of concluſiõs, & that too painful a courſe, for ſo needles a diſcourſe. This onely ſeemeth to me a ſufficient confutation thereof, that it is a new and an vnexpert error, croſſing the aduiſed iudgement of all auncient Diuines: that I vrge them not with the Heathen, more holy then themſelues, with whom there was alwayes great difference, betweene things ſacred and prophane. But if Popiſh Prelates haue heretofore abuſed, and abuſe at this day the lawful power of the church, by their lawleſſe tiranny, ſhall their vnlawfulneſſe make a lawfull thing of none effect? Together with religion a lawe was made, which excluded the irreligious from religion, ſince the worlde began. And is not then the condition of the Church preſent to be pittied, being now come to this ſtay, that when as it ought to be the ſchoole of vertue, it wil not endure the cenſure of conformity? And that which to the Heathen (men rude and vntaught in the true worſhip of God) ſeemed moſt beautifull in it ſelfe, and no leſſe beneficiall to the common wealth, ſhould altogether of vs Chriſtians be neglected as needeleſſe, or contemned as erronious?

But to returne to the principall iſſue in this controuerſie: albeit the miniſtery of the Goſpell committed to the paſtors of the Church, be one and the ſame in them all: yet in this third part, concerning the diuerſe degrees of authority, which firſt the Lord himſelfe conſtituted, and afterwardes the Apoſtles continued, there is great ods betweene them, and no ſmall inequality to be found among them. Amongſt the which, there is no controuerſie, but that the Apoſtles haue the firſt degree of dignity, Euangeliſts the ſecond, Prophets the third, Paſtors and Elders the fourth, Doctors the laſt. For as the authority of an Apoſtle was greater then of an Euangeliſt or a Prophet, & of a Prophet greater then of a Biſhop or an Elder: ſo was the authority of *Titus* and *Timothie*, who were both Elders and Biſhops, greater then

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was the authority of those Elders, whom by theyr Apostolique commission themselues had created in euery Towne. And albeit the Baptisme of Christ be one and the same, by whome so euer it be administred, whether of an Apostle of the higheſt, or of an Elder of the loweſt order, and the doctrine of the Gospell is neither better nor worse which is deliuered of these, or of those: Notwithstanding good order of gouernement doth not permitte, that the authority of al should be all alike, or that the like cómission should be granted to these, and them; the constant and continued custome of the Church ministery, deriued from the Apostles time, and vnrepealed vnto this day, doth euince the same.

The first creation of the twelue Apostles, and the seuenty Disciples, doth containe a manifest demonstration of this whole matter. For that the beginnings of the old, and new Church might accord: First the twelue Apostles were elected to be the first Patriarches and progenitors of a newe people: but afterwards, when the harueſt was greater then the labourers, and the kingdome of Heauen already began to suffer violence, as the Lord ioyned with *Moyses* in the old Testament seuenty Elders, to assist him in the gouernance of his people: so in like manner vppon the like occasion, our Sauiour added vnto the twelue Apostles, seuenty other Disciples. And so in the first infancy of the Church, we may see how the Lord ordained two diuerse degrees of Ministers: whom when he distinguished in number, and disseuered into distinct companies, did he not declare, that in honour and authority they were not equall, not all of a company? The which thing verily he would neuer haue done, had hee once knowen (and he should know) that it had beene a sin, for Ministers to be diuerse in degree, and not equal in dignity. And these were the first preachers of the Gospell vnder the Lords direction, whiles himselfe was yet resident among them. But after hee ascended into Heauen, he rayſed vp Prophets also in the Church, when as at Whitsontide hee poured forth of his spirite, whereby he might make his Disciples as miracles, not onely for theyr manifold langua-

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ges, but alſo for theyr diuine wiſedom and fore-knowledge. But in proceſſe of time, when the number of Churches increaſed and multiplyed exceedingly, ſo that themſelues were now no more able to ground and gouerne them; they took vnto them of theyr followers, and made them theyr fellow labourers. Who although they were of rare faith and rype giftes, yet were they the ſchollers and followers of the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts, much inferiour to theyr maiſters. But when as not onely the number of the Churches, but the multitude of beleeuers increaſed ſtill aboue number, then were there ordayned for ſeuerall Churches, ſeuerall Paſtors, who in that age without diſtinction were called Biſhops and Elders. And of all theſe we purpoſe to ſpeake particularly, ſo ſoone as I ſhall haue ſhewed you my minde concerning the diuerſe kindes of Calling to the Miniſtery.

Of ordinary and extraordinary calling to the Miniſtery.

Chap. II.

NO man not lawfully called, may intrude himſelfe into the holy Miniſtery of the Church. For it is belonging vnto God alone to chooſe his owne Miniſters, and to preſcribe lawes vnto men, by the which he would haue them choſen. Wherefore, there are now two kinds of lawful callings to the Miniſtery: one, when a man is called of God himſelfe: an other, when he is ordained of men, according to the lawes preſcribed of God. This we call ordinary, the other extraordinary. That which is extraordinary commeth to paſſe two ſundry wayes, and at two ſeuerall times: namely, eyther immediatly from God without any inter-meane: or elſe from God, but yet by means of his Prophet. And that alſo is of two ſorts, eyther when ther was no certaine order ſet downe in the ſame matter, or elſe when there was a certaine order appoynted for the ſame. Of the firſt, we haue an inſtance in *Moyſes* and *Aaron*, both called extraordinarily; *Moyſes* immediatly from God without any inter-mean: and *Aaron* by his brother *Moyſes*: Who, being

being so commanded of God, preferred to the Priesthood, *Aaron* with his sons, and the whole Tribe of *Leuy*. But then there was no lawe written, so that from them the order and function of *Leuy* had theyr foundation. Of the latter wee haue an example in *Samuel*, whō God called after the order of Priesthood was receyued and confirmed amongst the people of God: So was *Elias* the Thesbite rayſed besides the common order, when an order was set downe; and so were for the most part al the Prophets of the olde Testament. But *Eliæus* and others were so called of God extraordinarily, that he vsed in this busines his Prophet *Elias*, as a meane thereof. So likewise in the new Testament, Christ called his twelue Apostles, vnto whome also he added seuenty other Disciples, when as yet there was no certayn order set down for the Ministery of the Gospell: But *Paul* and *Mathias* he added to the twelue, after the institution of the Ministery.

The Priuiledge of an extraordinary calling is this, that as it hath God the only autor, so it hath the same God the only director of the same. For alwayes extraordinary gifts do accompany an extraordinary calling: in so much that they which are so called of God, haue no neede to be informed of man, in those things which concerne the execution of theyr charge: as it appeareth in *Moyses* and the Prophets, as also in the Apostles and Euangelists.

The ordinary calling is that, which is made of men, according to such lawes as God hath set downe for the same. As was the Priesthood of the family of *Aaron*, and the Ministery of the Leuites in the olde Testament: and as is at this day the calling of Bishops and Elders, who both of the Apostles themselues, and also of their successors, were chosen assistants for the founding of Churches, and appoynted presidents ouer them being founded, and so for euer (so long as there is a Church) are to endure.

As for men, they haue no power (not cōmanded of God) to cal any mā to the Ministery extraordinarily. Wherfore they are deceiued that thinke *Titus* or *Timothy*, or *Iohn Mark* & other the Apo. followers & fellow-laborers extraordinarily called,

called, seing they were called no otherwise, then were the other Elders and Bishops whom the Apostles ordayned ouer diuerse Churches. Was there any thing in them singular or extraordinary? impute not that to theyr extraordinary calling, but to theyr ordinary conuersing, with tutors and instructors, excellent and extraordinary. (the Apostles and Euangelists.) I admit theyr gifres were rare, and theyr perfections extraordinary, yet notwithstanding (no dispraise to any) they wanted much of that manhood of strength, which was in theyr instructors, neither were they wiser then their teachers. Neuer did Apostle giue Apostle instructions, as *Paul* did to *Timothy* and *Titus*; who as they supplied the Apostles places, so they followed not theyr own, but the Apostles precepts. So were they at once & together both schollers and maisters: for as they did conforme the Churches, & informe theyr pastors with wholesome doctrine, so themselues also were informed of the Apostles, the Apostles immediatly from God, and our Lord Iesus Christ. So that *Paul* might boldly say (as he sayd truely) What things I haue receyued of the Lord, I haue deliuered vnto you: but *Timothy* might say with vs (and we with him) what things wee haue receyued of the Apostles, we haue deliuered vnto you. And albeit both he and we, haue receyued of the Lord, that which we haue deliuered to the Churches, yet notwithstanding our receipt is after another sort. They lined with the Lord, and those things which they heard and saw, and handled with theyr handes of the word of life, they deliuered to the Church: but *Titus* and *Timothy*, and all they which succeeded, taught and teach with vs, such things as were deliuered by theyr hands vnto vs.

Besides *Titus* and *Timothy*, *Paul* had his fellowes and ioint laborers, *Sylas* and *Barnabas*; I say his fellowes, not his followers; his schoole-fellowes, not his schollers. For why? they had theyr calling as he had, extraordinary from God, and therefore vnto them he set downe no precepts of wholesom doctrine, he gaue no instructions of Church gouernement, as he did vnto *Titus* and *Timothy*. Where I leaue it to euery indiffe-

indifferent mans iudgement, what difference there was betweene the calling of thoſe, and of theſe. As for the calling of thoſe, whom it hath pleaſed God to rayſe vp for the reformation of his Church, there be many which moue manye queſtions, and make more to doe, then they neede: out of the which when they can no wayes winde themſelues, at al aduenture they caſt anker in this vnknowen coaſt of extraordinary calling. But vnleſſe I be wonderouſly deceyued, they doe but ride in a ſhallow, and they neede not. For to oppoſe himſelfe againſt a falſe and corrupt opinion concerning the Sonne of God, or of the chiefe grounds of religion, euery good Chriſtian (well ſeene in ſacred writte) both can and ought. Wherefore amongſt ſo many, as God hath ſtirred vp to ſo ſingular a purpoſe (as he hath ſtirred vp many) how few I pray you haue they beene, whoſe calling was extraordinary, except a few? And what then can the aduerſary obiect in this caſe againſt the Church of England? Or wherein can it iuſtly be challenged? May it not defend her calling ordinary, as may alſo many other Churches in Germany? Say that irreligion hath vniuerſally poſſeſt ſome certain Church; I ſay, ther need no calling extraordinary to reeal the ſame. The Church, may be extraordinarily reformed (if ſo it be required) by them, which haue ordinary autority to performe it. We haue heard of many reformations in the kingdome of Iuda, to the which neyther ciuill Magiſtrate was ordayned more then ordinary, nor nouell Prieſthood. Did not the Prieſts themſelues, which before were defiled with foule Idolatry, purify the Temple, the people, and thẽſelues together from foule Idolatry? And at this day, if the Biſhops of the French Churches, would redeeme themſelues from the Popes tiranny, and ſweepe theyr Churches cleane of all error and Idolatry; what need ſhould they haue of any other calling, then that which they haue? The like I affirme of all other Churches, (in what part of the world ſoeuer) which through the iniquity of theſe dayes, and the ſubtilty of the ennemy, are inuolued and ouercaſt with the moſt daungerous miſts of error and ignorance. If they pleaſe to

ſend for our Countreymen, and vſe theyr counſel, they may: but if otherwiſe they will not, they are to vſurpe no authority ouer theyr Churches, but rather to reioyce and congratulate with them for theyr conuerſion, making profer vnto them of theyr company and theyr countenance.

Of the twelue Apoſtles.

Chap. III.

THe twelue, which were the firſt preachers of the Goſpell, were choſen of the Lorde himſelfe. With them he deyned familiarly to conuerſe, and friendly to acquaint with all his counſels (which according to the time, they were capiable of) that afterwards they might the better teſtify of thoſe thinges, which they both ſaw, & heard. Theyr firſt prouince extended not it ſelfe beyond the confines of Iewry; for they were then forbidden to goe into the way of the Samaritanes, or to enter into the ſtreetes of the Gentiles. And in this theyr firſt circuit, the Lord vnto the office of preaching, ioyned the power of Baptiſme, and the working of miracles. But ſo long as no end was impoſed vnto the ceremonies of the olde Church, neyther yet the order of *Aarons* prieſthood was abrogated, they founded no particular Churches, but retained company and communion with the reſt of the Iewes, in ſuch things as concerned the ſeruice of God.

But what the peculiar office of the Apoſtles was, is eaſely vnderſtood by the commaunds which our Sauiour gaue them after his reſurrection, and alſo by thoſe promiſes which he made in *Iohn*, concerning the comforter which he would ſend them after his aſcention. In the laſt of *Mathew* theſe are the words of our Sauiour to his Diſciples: *All power* (ſaith he) *is giuen to me in Heauen and in earth; Goe therefore*

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and teach al nations, baptiſing them in the name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt: Teaching them to obſerue al things what ſo euer I haue commaunded you. And behold I am with you vntill the end of the world.

In which words the chiefe parts of theyr Apoſtolique function, are thus to be diſcerned: The firſt, is that Legacy which is immediatly giuen them of God, vnto all nations, and not reſtrayned within any limitte; an other, is the publication of that doctrine which they receiued of the Lord; the third, is the adminiſtration of thoſe Sacraments which were inſtituted of God; the laſt, is the proteſtation of that eſpeciall aide, which albeit generally it concern the whole church, yet particularly it reſpecteth the Apoſtles them ſelues. Likewiſe in the fourteenth, and ſixteenth of *Iohn*, the gift of the holy Ghoſt is promiſed vnto them, for the better performance of their Apoſtolike function.

And that was it, which did ſo moderate theyr tongue and theyr talk, as that they ſhould vtter no doctrine of theyr owne, but of theyr maiſter Chriſt. And albeit the commiſſion of teaching, with the power of working miracles, were graunted out vnto others alſo, yet this alwaies remayned proper to the Apoſtles, and intire to theyr calling, that theyr onely doctrine was a paragon and a patterne, by the which al others doctrine was to be tried. And alſo: that they alone in the beginnings of the Church, conferred the holy Ghoſt vnder a viſible ſigne, by the laying on of handes, (as it is in the eight of the Actes and the ſeuenteenth verſe.) Wherefore as *Moyſes* had God the firſt author of the law, ſo was it requiſit the Apoſtles ſhould haue the ſame ground of theyr cõſecration, that the foundation of the Church might be layd ſure and indefeyſeble.

As for the authority of the Apoſtles among themſelues, it was one and the ſame, and theyr honour alike: there was no ods between them, but that which eyther gifts, or grauity did make. And albeit *Peter* be euery where called the firſt, yet was that primacy in the order only of his vocation, not in the preheminence of his commiſſion. For if ſo bee

that (out of those words of the Lord,) *Thou art Peter, and vpon this roeke will I builde my Church*, and such other like, the Apostles had conceyued any especiall authority committed to *Peter*, they would neuer haue moued the question twise after that, which of them should seeme the greatest. And albeit the Lord vouchsafed *Peter*, *Iames* and *Iohn*, the participation of some greater secrets; yet notwithstanding he bare himselfe so indifferently towardes them all, in the donation of any especiall place, as that themselues could not tell, among themselues, whome to prefer before his fellow. But from this degree of Apostolique dignity, *Iudas* through his treasonable and sacriligious auarice fell, and into his place was *Mathias* inuested after the ascention of Christ: and last of al other, was *Paul* also ascribed into this holy society, after a right wonderfull and miraculous manner.

Of the seuenty Disciples.

Chap. IIII.

ALbeit *Paul* for honour sake, haue placed Prophets in the second place, yet notwithstanding vppon iust occasion, I haue oomised them to the third: For that I am here to obserue, not the honour, but the order of theyr calling; and to take them as they fall, not in regard of the preheminence of theyr titles, but in respect of the priority of those times, in the which they were called in the new Testament. Wherefore, when as the Lorde perceiued, that for the smalnes of the time the Harueſt was great, and for the greatnes of the Harueſt, the laborers were but few; he elected seuenty other Disciples to preache the Gospell, and to publish the glad tidings of peace. Vnto whome albeit he gaue the power of miracles also, & no lesse priuiledge then had before the twelue Apostles, (to bee honored of them, vnto whom they preached;) yet notwithstāding, he vnited them not together with the Apostles, to

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make of them al, one order or ſociety: For yee ſhall alwayes read, that the twelue were euer ſeperate from the ſeuenty: Who in this regard ſeemed inferiour to the Apoſtles: For why? they were not in ordinary with the Lord, as were the Apoſtles; ſo that they could not be witneſſes of ſuch things, as he dyd and ſayd. If there were any, any more familiar then the reſt, they were but few, namely two; *Ioſephe* (ſurnamed the iuſt) and *Mathias*: of the which one (God being gouernor of the lottery) was inueſted into the place of *Iudas*. *Barnabas* alſo, was appoynted Apoſtle-like to diſcourſe through diuerſe countryes, and to plant certaine Churches, who notwithſtanding (moſt certayne) was none of the Apoſtles. *Phillip* likewiſe may be taken for one of this order, (and many other) who laboured with the Apoſtles in the work of the Goſpel. And ſeeing it is ſo plain a caſe, that theſe all were called immediatly from God, and that (as we read) God gaue vnto his Church Euangeliſts: who ſhall wee ſay were thoſe Euangeliſts, if not theſe? Reſolue then, that thoſe ſeuenty Diſciples were Euangeliſts, and thoſe Euangeliſtes inferior to the Apoſtles. For why, they were giuen as Legats or Lieutenants, vnder thoſe graund Capitains, to vndertake (with like authority) theyr taske and theyr turnes.

And yet beſides theſe, the Apoſtles tooke vnto them diuerſe others, as fellow laborers with them: But in them ther was not that valour, as was in thoſe, whom the Lord himſelfe did chooſe, and infuſe with an Apoſtolike ſpirite. We haue read of *Barnabas*, *Iude* and *Sylas*, theyr great trauel, and no ſmal autority in the Church: In which reſpect they came neare, and were next (in deede) vnto the Apoſtles themſelues. But how might this haue beene, if ſo be the ſpirit of God had not wholly poſſeſſed them, as it did the Apoſtles? But we knowe, how that they all met, (that were at the election of *Mathias*) the ſame day in the ſame place, with the Apoſtles themſelues, when the Lord poured forth of his ſpirite a viſible ſhape. And albeit *Barnabas* was no Apoſtle, none of the twelue; yet can we make no leſſe of him, then an Euangeliſt, one of the ſeuenty.

As for *Marke* and *Luke*, albeit theyr authority in the Church were great, and theyr desertes great, for their perfect and well penned Histories of the Gospell: yet are they not to be reputed with the seuenty Euangelistes, by reason theyr calling was by men vnto the Ministery. *Tertullian* in in his fourth booke against *Marcion*, writeth thus: *Luke* (saith hee) *not an Apostle, yet Apostolique, not a maister, but a scholler, as he was lesse then his Maister, so likewise was he so much the more lesse then an other, for that he was follower of a lesse Apostle.* As for *Marke*, *Papias* in his Commentaries (as *Eusebius* reporteth in his thirde booke) hath left vs this testimony. *Marke the interpreter of Peter, wrote in deede very diligently, what so euer hee remembred; yet not altogether in that order, as they were spoken and performed by the Lorde. Neyther in deede did hee heare the Lorde himselfe, neither was hee any follower of his, but afterwards (as I haue sayd) became the companion of* Peter, &c. *Wherefore* Marke *did not amisse in this, that he diuulged in writing such things, as before hee committed to memory: seeing aboue all thinges he chiefely regarded this one thing, that neyther hee would omitte any thing he heard to be true, neyther committe any thing hee knew to bee false.*

Thus saith hee of him: And it is well knowen, that hee was inferiour vnto *Barnabas* also, in authority: for hee was his follower, and in a manner his scholler; as he was also *Pauls* and *Peters*, and that in no other order, then were *Titus* and *Timothy*. And yet notwithstanding, the name and credite both of *Marke* and *Luke* (for their faithfull register of the Apostles preceptes) is such, and so reuerend, as that their Gospels are recorded among the canonical scriptures, and are equaled in authority, with the more exquisite labours of *Mathew* and *Iohn*.

And reason too: For in their Euangelike recordes, whome had they for theyr patternes or their patrones, but the Apostles and Euangelistes? So that, whereas the Gospell of *Mathew*, may seeme to bee onely *Mathewes*, and that of *Iohn* to bee *Iohns* onely, these theyr Gospels may be reputed the Gospels, not of *Mark* and *Luke*, but of all the Apo-

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stles and Euangelists. In the which thing verily they are worthy great commendations, that they sauoured no whit at all of men; (as commonly they doe which pen Histories,) but they so nearely and narrowly followed the very spirit of the Apostles and Euangelistes, as if the Apostles themselues had beene rather the penners, then perusers of so greate a worke.

Wherefore *Luke* is for good cause commended of *Paul* (in the second to the Corinth: the eight chapter, and eighteenth verse) when as he saith, *VVe haue also sent that brother whose praise is in the Gospell throughout all Churches.* But by these you may easely conceiue, who were properly Euangelistes, and who not.

Of Prophets.

Chap. V.

AS wee reckon none in order with the twelue, (*Paul* onely excepted) so with the seuenty, find we not any that may be compared. And albeit we doubt not, that God could haue added to the 70. others also, no way their inferiors, yet seeing we haue no record of sacred writte to auouch the same, it were hard for man to affirme, that there were any such: But now when as besides the twelue Apostles, and those seuenty Euangelists, we read of other also, who in like manner haue been honoured with the first fruits of the holy Spirite; by what name or title shall they be called? or by what addition shal we distinguish thē from the rest? Of the number of an hundred and twenty men, there remayn fix and thirty stil: whom seeing we neither account with the twelue Apostles, nor yet with the seuenty Euangelistes, it remayneth, that wee adorne them with the name of Prophets. For this

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it is which *Peter* doth insinuat vnto the people, out of the Prophet *Ioel* (in his Apology for himselfe and his fellowes) namely, That the spirite of Propheſie, promised of olde to be giuen out in the later dayes, was then poured forth vpon that assembly, whom then they heard preaching and propheſying in diuerse tongues, to theyr great astonishement.

Wherefore those thirty sixe men, which neyther are ascribed into the company of the twelue Apostles, nor yet are recounted in the society of the seuenty Euangelists, were those first Prophets, whom God gaue into his Church, after our Sauiour was receyued vp into Heauen. In which order (as it might very wel be) was *Ananias* of Damasco reputed, and *Agabus*, both of them renowmed Prophets.

Iudas and *Sylas* are also called Prophets, and for that cause are they sent by the Apostles to Antioch, to exhort & confirme the brethren. And I am of opinion, that these and such like were properly called Prophets, not Metaphorically; seeing they did foresee thinges to come by the spirite of God, and by the same spirite reuealed things secret and recondite. And albeit the interpreting of the Scripture bee a kinde of prophecying, yet is that kinde more proper to the Doctor, then the Prophet, and more truely may a man account Doctors interpreters of the Scripture, then Prophets. But doubtlesse God restored to his Church, in those latter dayes, that true kinde of Prophecy, which in Israell was familiar from the beginning, and in singular wisedom did erect three kindes of Doctors in his Church, and gaue them to his new people; Apostles, Euangelists, and Prophets. And these were the first Elders and Bishops of the Church of Ierusalem.

That

That the names and titles of Apostles, Euangelists, and Prophets, were giuen also vnto other Pastors and Doctors of the Church.

CHAP. VI.

ALbeit, by that which I haue already written, it maye sufficiently bee vnderstoode, whome I call by the name of Apostles, Euangelistes, and Prophetes: yet notwithstanding, because those names are for good causes giuen vnto others also, some what must be said of them in like maner. In the Epistle to the Romains the sixteenth Chapter, Andronicus and Iunius, are called notable among the Apostles: and out of the eight Chapter of the last to the Corinthians, Titus and the brethren which were with him, are called Apostles: and in the Epistle to the Philippians, Epaphroditus is called their Apostle.

The deriuation of the greeke word is well knowen, that Apostles are called, of sending, for that they are Postes or speedie messengers, sent of especiall purpose as Legates or Embassadours into diuers parts of the worlde; & according to this signification, whosoeuer is sent as a messenger in anie busines, may be called an Apostle. In this sense, our Sauiour himselfe, (who is Prince and Lord ouer the Apostles) in the epistle to the Hebrues, is called an Apostle. But (to be short,) this name is no where giuen in the newe Testament to any (so far as euer I could learne) but to the ministers of the gospell onely: Amongst whome, because there was great inequalitie; Paule calleth those first twelue Apostles, the chiefe Apostles: (as it is in the eleuenth chapter of the last to the Corinthians,) where he saith; *I suppose, that I was not inferiour to the chiefe Apostles*: (as it is also in the 11. verse of the 12. chapter.) By the which it appeareth most plainely, that besides those chiefe Apostles, who helde the commission of their ambassage immediatly from God, ther were many other also, which were in like manner called A-

poſtles: either for that they were accounted of the Apoſtles, as fellow-labourers in their ſea-apoſtolique; or els for that they were ſent as Legates in the ſame buſines, by the church of Ieruſalem, which was the mother Metropolitane church. Among whom ſomtime, there foiſted in of their own heads, certaine other iolly fellowes, falſe Apoſtles, whom Paul calleth falſe brethren, and deceiptfull labourers: who vnder a coppie of faire ſemblance, could transforme themſelues into the colours and companies of Chriſt his Apoſtles. And theſe were they which ſought by all poſsible meanes, to impaire the authority of Paule, as of one (forſooth) that ſawe not the Lord in the fleſh, and therefore not worthy to mate and match with the other Apoſtles, in like equipage of authoritie. But doe you ſee their purpoſe? Or doe you conceiue their policy? {By this meanes they ment to thruſt Paul into the laſt and loweſt forme of Apoſtles, that themſelues being mate with *Paule*, might more eaſily giue the trueth a checke.

Againſt the malapertnes of theſe men, the Apoſtle maintaineth the authoritie of his power Apoſtolique, affirming that he was choſen apoſtle, not by men, but of God. To how great, or rather to how ſmal purpoſe ſhould the Apoſtle haue vrged this, had not the name of *Apoſtle* bene common vnto others alſo, which were not of that company and conuent of the twelue Apoſtles, but were ſent from men, and by men, & were not immediatly from God? among whome are to bee accounted, *Titus*, *Andronicus*, *Timothie*, *Marke*, and many other, whom al poſterity hath reuerenced, and accounted for Biſhops and Archbiſhops of the church.

May not the like be ſayd of the name of Euangeliſts? For who knoweth not, that the ſame name was giuen vnto manie other, beſides thoſe ſeuentie two: becauſe indeede, they were called to the ſame function, both vnder the ſeuenty, & vnder the Apoſtles. True it is, they had not the like meaſure of Gods ſpirite, and yet according to the moytie of their ſeuerall talent, they did much edifie the church, and magnifie the foundation which the Apoſtles had laid. And therefore

are

are they called *Apoſtles*, and *Euangeliſts*, not only in reſpect of the ſenſe and ſignification of the wordes, but alſo in regard of the *Apoſtolique*, & *Enangelike* function, into the which they were aſſociate and aſſumed by the *Apoſtles*, as helpers and fellow-labourers.

But as for the name of *Prophets*; not only, they are ſo called in the ſcriptures, vnto whome God hath reuealed the ſecrets of things to come, but they alſo, which doe faithfullie reueile the ſecrets of Gods eternal truth to others, and know howe to apply auncient propheſies, to preſent circumſtances. In which ſenſe, all Euangelique teachers and interpreters of ſacred ſcripture, may be ſayd to be Prophets.

Of Deacons.

Chap. VII.

IF my purpoſe had beene in recounting the degrees of Miniſters, to haue followed the courſe of honour, I would haue ſet next vnder *Prophets*, *Paſtors* and *Doctors*. But for as much as I haue tied my ſelfe vnto the order of time, in the which they were firſt ordained; of force I muſt firſt ſpeake of *Deacons*, before I come to *Biſhops* and *Elders*: for we read that they were firſt created, when as yet (beſides the Apoſtles and thoſe Euangeliſts, and Prophets, of the which wee haue lately ſpoken) the Church had no Elders: and reaſon to. For when as the Miniſtery of the goſpell, according to Gods holy inſtitution, hath annexed vnto it a religious care, and conſideration of the poore, the Apoſtles tooke that vnto themſelues, as a thing pertayning to their charge: vntill the murmure and mutinie of the Greekes againſt the Hebrewes, gaue occaſion of the Deacons Election. But were there not at the beginning, diſpenſers and diſpoſers of the common treaſure? When Chriſt himſelfe kept reſidence here vpon earth, who but Iudas diſcharged that penſion? and doubtleſſe, if the Apoſtles coulde haue performed both, they woulde neuer

haue giuen charge that others ſhould haue beene choſen for that charge. And yet that charge, was not ſo wholie giuen ouer of the Apoſtles to the Deacons, as that afterwardes, they thought the ſame nothing at all appertaining vnto themſelues. Haue wee not read, what Paule and Barnabas did, beeing requeſted to bee mindfull of the poore? how vigilantly they vndertooke that care themſelues? And therefore they thought it requiſite, that the men to be choſen into that charge, ſhould be men ful of the holy Ghoſt.

But doe you not wonder now, that theſe new elects did not imploye themſelues in gathering and giuing of almes onely? Why (men forgetfull of themſelues) they take vpon them the office of teaching alſo. See how Phillip preacheth the goſpell to the Samaritanes alſo, and baptiſeth them that beleeue: how, while Stephen preached Chriſt more feruentlie, he is become the firſt martyr of Chriſt. May we not conceiue by theſe preſidents, what the reſt of them did? or ſhall we be ſo fooliſh as to think, becauſe there is nothing writtē of the reſt, that therefore they did nothing, or not this? Of the greateſt part, euen of Chriſt his Apoſtles, is there not deepe ſilence, or little ſayd? of whom notwithſtanding there is nothing more cleare, then that they performed their impoſed penſions with impeachable diligence.

The like preſident therefore, hath bene well followed of our godlie predeceſſours, who did alſo imploy their Deacons in the miniſterie of the word, and holy myſteries. For why? they doubted (and that not without cauſe,) leaſt that profitable function ſhould become contemptible, & be had in eſteeme, as ſtewardiſh and too homely, and not at all belonging, or not beſeeming the ſacred miniſterie. Wherfore, that they might be of greter reuerence & regard in the clergy, they were permitted to read the goſpel to the people, & to miniſter the cup in the Sacramental ſympoſy. And at the length, their autority increſed ſo far, that no BB. wold want his Deacon: yea, ſooner would a Biſhop want his Prieſt, then be without this Deacon. But now, how this kind of Deaconie deceaſed, it is nothing to our purpoſe: It ſufficeth mee,

that

that I haue ſhewed, what was of olde the office of Deacons· I need not adde, that what thinges the Apoſtle requireth in Deacons, are in a manner equall with thoſe he deſireth in a Prieſt : But this I maye ſay, that by that onely one thing, it may full well appeare, that the office was then eſteemed as a charge of no ſmall import. And therefore, it neede not ſeeme ſo ſtrange a matter to any man, if ſome greater thing then a Church-warden-ſhip was committed to the order of Deacons, by our honorable predeceſſors. The which I note to this end, that al men may know, how the churches of old committed no abſurd thing in this, nor we (if there be any which at this day, doe immitate them) when they make the Deacony a degree to a further miniſterie.

This therefore is the fourth order of the miniſtery, acording to the order of time; and the firſt, that was deuiſed of man, when as yet there were no other Prieſtes created, then thoſe whome the Lord himſelfe had inueſted with his own hands. Now, whether this order be obſerued euery where, that they ſhould bee created Deacons before they be ordained Prieſts, I cannot tel. In the epiſtle to Titus, in the which Paul commandeth, that hee ſhould retaine Paſtors in euerie citie: there is no mention made of Deacons. And in the 19. chapter of the Acts, where it is ſaid of Paule and Barnabas, that they ordained Paſtors in the churches, there is nothing ſaid of Deacons. And indeed, for aſmuch as there are greater parts required in a Prieſt, then in a Deacon; a competent Deacon might ſooner be had, (where need was) then a ſufficient Prieſt: whoſe preſent want, the Apoſtles and Euangeliſtes themſelues (for a time) could better ſupply, then of Deacons: becauſe the function Apoſtoliqne, is further from procuring the Church treaſuries, then from Preaching the meere ſacred myſteries. With the which, this alſo is to be conſidered, that the neceſſities of the poore, are not patient of any long delaies.

That Paule in his fourth chapter to the Epheſians, maketh no mention of this order, it need not greatly to trouble any: ſeeing his purpoſe was not to ſpecifie al the degrees of

the miniſtery, but only to note the eſpecial. Our Sauior himſelfe taught, that care & compaſsion ſhewed to the poore, was a moſt bleſſed worke: when hee ſaid, That was giuen or not giuen to himſelfe, that was graunted or grudged the poore. But in the reformatiõ of ſome churches in theſe dais, it is now no more a church office, but a ciuil duty. The care of the poore, ouer-ſight of the hoſpitals and widowes, and orphans, which was wont to be the Biſhops charge, the Magiſtrate hath taken to himſelfe. But vpon what occaſion it firſt grew to this vnder the Biſhop of Rome, I will declare els where. No doubt the Magiſtrate, that deſireth to reſtore the church to her firſt beauty, will refer that function to Eccleſiaſticall perſons. For if they ſhall find any corruption in them, it ſhall be alwaies in their power to puniſhe the offenders, and to amend the fault: but it is not in the Biſhops or Paſtors power, to doe the like, if it ſhall fal out, that the Magiſtrates themſelues, or they which are deputed by them in theſe affaires, ſhall in like manner offend. Ought they not to conſider, that the ſame thing may befall themſelues, which they feare in the miniſterie? No queſtion, the miniſterie of the poore, is a religious thing, & part of gods ſeruice. Wher I find two thinges greatly to be complained of: Firſt, *that in ſome reformed churches, the whole office of a Deacon, is made œconomicke, ruſticall, and not vnlike vnto an annuall baliwick*: & then, *That the order of Deaconiſſes*, atending vpon the poore, impotent, ſick, (of the which, there is yet ſome ſhadow remaining in the Papacie) is among vs altogeather relinquiſhed. It is much to the purpoſe (in my iudgement) how and of whom the neceſsities of the pore be relieued in the houſe of God. I am not ignorant indeed, that the old cuſtom of the church is growen to ſome ſmacke of ſuperſtition: but this of ours, which we now haue, whether (a Gods name) wil that grow? Wee are apt to fall from ſuperſtition to prophanation, but to keepe the golden meane, we haue no meanes.

It hath bene of olde, the greateſt beauty of the Church, the greateſt praiſe of the Paſtors; bountie towards the needy, and mercy towards the diſtreſſed. And what ſhould I ſay of noble

noble women (and no leſſe renowmed) maids and widows, Queenes and Empreſſes, who of their earneſt deuotion towards God, & their inward compaſsion towards the poore, haue wholy conſecrated themſelues (vnder their ſuperuigill Biſhops) vnto this holy miniſtery.

When I looke into our churches, I cannot but prefer the commendable care of them, who continue in the church the true Deaconie, before thoſe, who (as if it were ſome vile and ciuill charge) trauerſe it ouer to men of life and profeſsion vnhallowed and prophane (For ſo they range the collectors for the pore, among the baſeſt drudges of the cittie.) But in this I pittie them, that ſatisfiyng (if not rather deceiuing) themſelues with the bare name, they ſeeme not ſufficientlie to conceiue the true and full nature of a Deacon. Of the which, there are yet many thinges to be ſpoken, but my diſcourſe plies it, and applies it ſelfe to the order of Elders and Biſhops.

That the churches in their beginnings, had no Biſhops & Elders, beſides the Apoſtles themſelues, and their fellow-labourers.

CHAP. VIII.

IN the eleuenth chapter of the Acts, is the firſt mention made of Elders, in the church of Ieruſalem; In the which, ſo long as the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts did theſelues cõtinue, they had no need of any other elders. But after they once began to be diſperſed (Iames their head being cut of, and *Peter* ſlipt aſide) then they began to haue their Elders, whome (from that time forwards) *Luke* alwaies ioyneth with the Apoſtles, which were at Ieruſalem: but when and how, and of whome they were ordained, it is not read. Notwithſtanding this order, although it was ordained in the church after Deacons in time, yet is it before thē in regard. But that churches were for a time without Prieſts, (or Elders,) it is more manifeſt out of the epiſtle to Titus, & the fourteenth of the Acts, then that it can be denied. But how long they were ſo, I wil not define: In this matter, I ſuppoſe the

the Apostle had not at anye time so great a regarde of the time, as of the persons, and their perfections. For it was not for the wisedome of the Apostles, rashly to lay their hands of any, or to appoint them ouer the church, whom God had not anointed with those graces, which are required in a Pastor of the church. Wherefore, when as the churches which were newly conuerted to the faith, did consist but of nouices: there was no remedy, but they must stay a time, vntill they had made triall of their dispositions, and taken notice of their abilities, vnto whom the church-gouernment was to be committed. In the meane while, all things were moderated, by the vigilant ouer-sight of the Apostles, and Euangelists, and such, as they intertained to their succours, as helpers and fellow-labourers.

No doubt, the Apostle Paul is like vnto himselfe in all his Epistles, & therefore it was not hap-hazard, that in the Epistle to the Philippians only, he saluteth Bishops & Deacons, & in none of the rest. By the which, as we are put out of all doubt, that the church of the Philippians had their Elders and Deacons: so are wee left in suspence, for any of the rest. (If so be (as els where) we are to gather of his stile, the state of the church.) Here therefore it behoueth the reader to be very attent, that wil learn to know, what churches had their Priests, and what not. Is it likely, that hee which ordinarilie accustometh to greet so louinglie in all Epistles, all that hee knew to be indued with any vertue, so willingly to commẽd al that he knew to be of any desert in the church, and also so freely to note all that he knew to be in any defect, (I say) is it likely, that of all other, he would haue left the Bishops and elders vnsaluted? in the epistle to the Rom. he saluteth many whom albeit he cal his fellow-laborers, yet ar they no wher said to haue borne any sway in the church of Rome. He remembreth *Aquila* (& the church which was in his house) who was now at Corinth, then at Ephesus, & sometimes again at Philippos: neither forgetteth he *Andronicus* & *Vrbanus*, wherof the one he commendeth, as notable among the Apostles, and the other he confesseth, as his fellow laborer.

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Theſe and all other, whom hee knew reſiant at Rome, hee deygneth with titles of condign prayſes, becauſe they labobored together with the Apoſtles. And therefore no doubt if ſo be any of them had beene the proper Paſtor of that Church, he would ſurely haue taken ſome knowledge, or made ſome remembraunce of it: As we reade that he did in his Epiſtle to the Philippians, of *Epaphroditus*, and to the Coloſſians, of *Epaphras*, and *Archippus*.

Moreouer when *Paul* came to Rome, we read how he was receiued of the brethren, and of the Elders: the which thing might euen as well haue beene there (if there had beene any ſuch Elders there) as in the fifteenth of the Actes, and the one and twenty alſo, it is well noted, how he was intertayned of the Elders. But by theſe it may appeare, what the ſtate of the Church was at Rome, when the Apoſtle did write vnto them. The like may bee declared out of either Epiſtle to the Corinthians, (that I name not any other) namely, That they had not theyr proper Paſtors, or peculiar incumbents, when thoſe Epiſtles were written. For who knoweth not, that *Paul* did write vnto new born Churches, which eyther were then but in the mould, or as yet in theyr nonage? Who beſides *Timothy* and *Titus*, *Apollo* & *Lucas*, *Stephanus* and *Fortunatus*, *Achaicus* and ſuch like, (whom the Apoſtle did ſend to them in common) had no other Elders, nor yet any other Biſhop, but the Apoſtle himſelfe. And although the Churches were not without order, yet ther was not that order, as afterwards they had, when they were not ſet in order, vnder Elders, that had taken orders. In meane ſeaſon, the Apoſtles & Euangeliſts, and other religious teachers, did viſit them by turns, as theyr opportunity ſerued. And hence is it, that *Paul* and *Apollo* doe excuſe themſelues vnto the Corinthians, that they did not viſite them ſo often as they could haue wiſhed. The which was alſo very well noted of *Ambroſe* and *Epiphanius*. *Epiphanius aduerſus hereſes*, in the 75. hereſie hath theſe wordes. *When the Goſpell was young the holy Apoſtle wrote according as the matter then ſtood. For where there were Biſhops appointed, he wrote to Biſhops and Deacons. Ney-*

ther could the Apostles appoynt all thinges at the first. In deed the greatest neede was of Priests, and Deacons, for by these two, all Ecclesiasticall functions may be discharged. But where there was not any man found worthy a Bishopricke, there they remayned without a Bishop. But where neede was, and there were that were worthy of it, there were appointed Bishops. But where there was no great multitudes, ther were not found among them, that might be made priests. & so they contented themselues with one Bishop in that place, &c. And he addeth: *So the Church receiued the fulnes of hir functions: for euery thing had not all things at the first, but in processe of time, those things were prouided, which were requisite to the perfection of things necessary.* Ambrose vpon the 4. of the Epistle to the Ephesians, writeth thus: *In al things the writings of the Apostle, doth agree with the order which is now in the Church, because these things were written about the beginnings of the Church. For he calleth Timothy also a Bishop, whom he had ordayned a Priest; because the first Priestes were called Bishops; that one going away, the next might succede him.* Thus sayth Ambrose: And therefore the writings of the Apostles are to be vnderstood, according to the seasons in the which they were written. In deede the Apostles layd the foundations: but others raised the worke; *Paule planted, Apollo watered.* And therefore so soone as with the time the Church increased, and the number of beleeuers multiplyed, they were not sufficing for the multitude whome the Lorde himselfe had sent: for which cause the Apostles took vnto themselues fellow-laborers in the Ministery, first Deacons, then Priests or Elders. Of whō we are now to speake.

Of Priests, or Pastors, and Bishops.
Chap. IX.

THe Apostle Saint *Paul*, next after Euangelistes, placeth Pastors and Doctors, but whether he ment by them, two distinct orders, or but one only, there is the question; and that because whosoeuer is a Pastor, ought also to be a Doctor, but it is not so conuersiuely on the other part: For it may be that he is a Doctor, which not any where

where is a Paſtor. This is once: that as by the three former names of Apoſtles, Prophets, and Euangeliſts, the Apoſtle ſeemeth to note thoſe, which had an extrordinary vocation from God immediat, and not from men; ſo by theſe two laſt names of Doctors and Paſtors (whether wee take them as both one, or otherwiſe) hee ſeemeth to vnderſtand thoſe, which by men were preferred to the Church. And that Biſhops and Elders are thoſe, whome *Paul* calleth Paſtors, it ſufficiently appeareth by that in the twentith Chapter of the Actes, where *Paul* intertaining the Elders hee had ſent for from *Epheſus*, telleth them, that they were appointed of god, *Biſhops* to feede the Church. And thereuppon wee alſo acknowledge no Elder or Biſhop in the Church of Chriſt, that is not a Paſtor or feeder. For it is in the eſſence of an Elder his office, with wholeſome doctrine to feed the flocke of Chriſt.

Presbyter is a Greeke word, and aunſwereth to that which the Hebrewes call *Zachen*, which ſignifyeth not onely an Elder in yeares, (who for his age is to be reuerenced, but alſo an auncient in the common wealth, who for his place and authority is to be honored: yea it is a title of honour, with the which the Nobles and Magiſtrates of the old Teſtament are graced: from whence alſo it is deriued to the Rectors of the Church in the new Teſtament, who are called Biſhops, by reaſon of their ouerſight and watchfull care; which is a title of work & labor, but the name of Paſtor is a title declaring a ſpeciall charge & office, ſo called of feeding the Lords flock with the Angel-like food of his heauenly word. Albeit ther are many other titles alſo, common to the ſaid Paſtors in the Scriptures, as that they are called *Stewards*, *Preſidents*, *Prelats*, *Guids*, *Gouernors*, *Miniſters*, and ſuch like. The vertue & property of which titles, I will not here ſtand to explaine: it is that you may haue elſe where: Only I will enforce from thence ſuch arguments, as the occaſion ſhall ſerue, and the matter which I handle ſhall require.

In the meane time you ſhall vnderſtande, that the office of theſe Paſtors, and doctors (albeit ordained of men)

doth not differ in kinde, from that of the Apoſtles. For the chiefe part of them both, is to inſtruct, exhort, reprehend, and refell the aduerſaryes of the truth, (Beſides the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, a thing no leſſe pertaining to Paſtors, then Apoſtles.) Neyther is a Paſtorall ouerſight diſiuſticed of that Apoſtolick authority of Eccleſiaſtical cenſure, which remayneth, and is requiſite for the edifying of the Church. For why? they ſucceede (that I may vſe *Hierome* hys owne wordes) *the Apoſtolique order*: and in another place, *It is no eaſy matter to ſtand in* Paul *his place, or to mayntaine the dignity of* Peter, *now raigning with Chriſt*.

Of two diueus degrees of Paſtors.

Chap. X.

BVt now, for as much as there is not the ſame, or the like proportion of charge committed to all Elders; there is alſo no ſmal difference among thoſe, whom the Scripture calleth by the ſame name of Biſhops and Elders. The which ſeeing it muſt be diſcerned, rather by themſelues as they are in deede, then by their names as they are called, let vs alwayes chiefely regard, what they are, then, what they are called; that we may truely diſtinguiſh betweene thinges that differ, not ſo much in name as in nature.

The firſt Elders therefore whome the Apoſtles ordayned, were theyr fellow-laborers in the Lord his vineyard, as *Iohn, Marke, Titus, Luke, Timothy, Demas, Siluanns*, and many others of whó we read in the Scriptures. Al the which, by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, were created Miniſters, no otherwiſe then the reſt, who afterwards were placed ouer their ſeuerall Churches. Notwithſtanding, that which wee read of *Timothy*, wee conceyue of the

the reſt; and therefore that charge which was giuen vnto theſe, was rather prouinciall, then particular: ſeeing they were the aſſociats, and aſsiſtants of the Apoſtles themſelues.

But when as daily the number of the faithfull increaſed, and the increaſe of Churches was thereby more and more aduaunced, together (as ſupply could be made of able men for the Miniſterie) the Apoſtles and Euangeliſtes, (or their aſſociates) inſtalled into particular Churches, particular Paſtors: who beeing placed in their wardes (as it were) ſhould not range at large from thence, but vnder the Apoſtles (as faithfull Paſtors) ſhould keep watch and ward ouer the vineyard of the Lorde. And yet they were not ſo inueſted into thoſe their ſeuerall charges, that the ſole and whole authoritie being demiſed to them, they ſhould rule the Church alone, and the charge thereof ſhould thence-forth concerne the Apoſtles no more: but to this ende were they ſo diſpoſed, that ſeeing the Apoſtles themſelues could not bee alwaies reſident in euery place, there might notwithſtanding (by their good meanes) be nothing wanting in anie place. If twelue men could haue beene ſuffiſing for all Churches, there ſhould neuer haue beene leuied any newe increaſe of other ſeuentie. But when they altogether could not ſerue, to ſerue the turne, both theſe, and they both, had need of more abettors, to helpe them out withall.

And albeit the Miniſterie of the Goſpell vnder Chriſt, be onely one, as the prieſt-hood of the law vnder *Moſes* was one: yet notwithſtanding, as in one prieſt-hood there were diuers degrees of gouernement, ſo likewiſe in one Miniſterie of the Goſpell, there are (as you haue heard) diuers degrees of Paſtors. For haue you not ſeene, how of the Lorde himſelfe, there were two degrees of Miniſters ordeined? (& of them the one was ſuperior to the other,) How afterwards of the Apoſtles, there were in like manner ordeyned two orders? (for to ſome they gaue in commiſsion the Churches of one whole prouince, and to ſome againe the ſingle rectorie of one onely Church.)

That *Titus* and *Timothie*, had a ſuperior intendencie ouer

many Churches, as alſo ouer them, which were alreadie, or were to be preferred thereunto, it is ſufficiently manifeſt vnto euery indifferent ſenſe. For otherwiſe, why was hee ſo diligently admoniſhed to beware, that he lay not his hands vpon any man extemporie? And againe: to what purpoſe is hee ſo cautionately forbidden, to admit any accuſation againſt an Elder, without the teſtimonie of two or three witneſſes? This therefore leadeth vs thus farre, as it were by the hand, that of force wee muſt confeſſe, how that vnder the Apoſtles, & of the Apoſtles, there were ordeined two degrees of Miniſters, & they of diuers authority, though not of diuers titles: vnto whom, albeit the Scripture for the preſent, gaue no proper or diſtinct denomination, yet in good time Poſteritie did it, wel aduiſed. For although the names of Paſtor and Biſhop, were commonly giuen to all Miniſters of old, yet preſently vpon the Apoſtles time, the name and title of Biſhop was imparted, as a proper addition to the firſt & chiefe order of Elders. And yet they were not deſtitute of their diſtinction by their more ſacred titles, euen in the Apoſtles time. For did not the Apoſtles themſelues grace the chiefe Elders with the title of their fellow-laborers, & their fellow-labourers with their owne titles? In the which notwithſtanding, we find their poſteritie very ſparing, and that for iuſt cauſe; namely, for that obſequious reuerence, and religious regard they had of the Apoſtles lately deceaſed; the chiefe inſtruments and ornaments of Gods Church.

That the doctrine of the Apoſtles acknowledgeth no annuarie Elders, to Rule onely in the Church, and not to Teach.

Chap. XI.

OVt of that place of *S. Paul* not well vnderſtood (it is in the fift chap. of the firſt to the Corinthians) there are many now adayes which haue deuiſed a fond and new-found diſtinction, clean contrary to the Apoſtles meaning. (Alâs for them) hee thought nothing

thing leſſe, then of anie temporall Elders, to play the bugs in the Church (like ſpeciall bailyes) for a ſpurt, and be gone: whereas in the whole ſchoole of the Apoſtles, you ſhall not finde, the worſt Elder, that is not placed in one of the two foreſaid formes. Generally in all Elders, the Apoſtle requireth thus much; *That they be apt to teach*: And, *that they may be able to exhort with wholeſome doctrine, and improue them which ſay againſt it*. If in this nouell kind, we looke for parts agreable to theſe: ſure I am, we ſhall neuer finde, that dumbe Elders, of a yeeres grouth, mute to inſtruct, made to commaund in the Church, are any where compriſed in this forme. 1. Tim. 3. 2. Tit. 1. 9.

As for that gouernment, the Apoſtle numbreth among the giftes of Gods ſpirit, it is to bee vnderſtood indeed of a ſingular and ſupereminent gift. For no doubt the right art of gouernment, is a rare and a religious thing: the which albeit there are ſcarſe anie that will not boldly arrogate vnto himſelfe, yet is it truly to be found but in a few. Wherefore (as I rather iudge) this ſo exquiſite a gift of gouernement, is to be reſerued vnto the more excellent order of Elders; as namely, the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts, and others the principall Miniſters of that time, as were *Titus* and *Timothie*, and ſuch other, which gouerned many Churches with power Apoſtolike.

And therefore me thinkes, that they of all other are farre wide, who thinke ſo rare and ſingular a gift of Gods ſpirite, ought to be impropriate to ſo baſe an order of Elders, mute and momentarie, *which gouerne not long, and teach not at all*. Sure I am, that the Apoſtolike Churches, and the ſequel of many yeares after, neuer interteined anie ſuch kinde of aldermen, for Church officers. And had not the Apoſtles and Euangeliſtes, and their aſſociates, ſole preheminence ouer the Elders of particular Churches, in the abſolute authority of Church gouernment?

True it is, I find certaine Sages and Seniours, who did vſually ſit in counſell with the Prieſts of the olde ſynagogue, who were not Prieſtes; but I reade not of anie in the Church,

Church, of counſell with the Paſtors, but the Paſtors. And in verie deed, in the Apoſtles daies, and many ages after, there were not in *Eſſe* any Chriſtian Magiſtrats, which could conſult with the Elders of the Church, in matters concerning the Church. As for thoſe Elders and Seniors, whom we read to haue beene ioyned with the Prieſts in councell and commiſsion, they were the ordinary Magiſtrates of Iſrael, which lawfully could not be ſequeſtred or ſecluded from the coũſels and conſtitutions of the Prieſtes, no more then at this day the Chriſtian Magiſtrate is to bee reſtrained from the Sinods and aſſemblies of the Church. For albeit there bee two kindes of gouernement; one of the Cittie, an other of the Church: yet are they both deriued from one and the ſame author. The which alſo, although they bee executed after a diuers manner, and that the one proceed of God, as he is the creator and moderator of all things, and the other of one and the ſame GOD, as hee is the reſtorer and redeemer of mankind, and each of them haue their ſeuerall ende alſo: yet notwithſtanding, ſeeing the ſame ſocietie is both Church & Cittie, and the authority of them both is drawen from the ſame head: ſo likewiſe are they driuen to one end, and come all to the ſame paſſe. And of this it commeth to paſſe, that they both haue many thinges in common, which cannot eaſily be propounded without a common aſſembly, nor concluded without a generall aſſent.

The Miniſter hath authoritie from the Lord our Sauiour, to gouerne the Church: the Magiſtrate from the ſame Lord our creator, hath the like ſoueraigntie to rule the Cittie. The which two diuers and diſtinct eſtates, ſo often as they doe friendly conſort together in one vniſone, & direct all their counſels to the ſame end, I ſay ſo long, the Cittie muſt needs thriue, and the Church cannot doe amiſſe. As for anie other Elders in the Church (beſides theſe of the which I haue now ſpoken, and you heard) I would to God ſome man would ſhew me which be they (if there be any ſuch.) Doubtleſſe it paſſeth my cunning, to finde any ſuch Church-bugs or Burgeſſes in the word of God.

Doe

Doe you not knowe, that the offices of the Church, are gifts of the spirit, and as it were talents of the Lord, laid out to loane among men; of the which there must one day an account be rendred to the Lorde? I tell you, it is not at the pleasure of anie seruant in the house of Christ, rashly to exonerate himselfe of anie office he hath vnder-taken: *He that once putteth his hand to the plough, and afterwards looketh backe, is not fitte for the kingdome of God*. For my part, I could neuer yet read, that there was at anie time in the Church, anie office temporarie, if it were ordinarie. I admit, that Deacons may afterwards be made Ministers; but that cannot be accounted a defection from the office, which is the perfection of the same, neither is that offfice forsaken, when in the same order a higher is vnder-taken; they fall not from that they were, but rise to that they were not. This custome *Tertullian* sometimes reprehended in his booke *De præscriptionibus contra hæreticos*, in these wordes: *Their giuing of orders is rash, light, and inconstant: sometimes they præfer yonglinges, sometimes wordlinges, and sometimes recreant reuolters, that they may bind them with their titles, whom they cannot hold with the truth: A man can neuer gaine more, or with more ease, then in the raunges of recreantes, where the onely beeing there, is to deserue pay. Therefore one is to day a Bishop, to morrow another; to day a Deacon, to morrow a Parson; to day a Priest, to morrowe a lay man: (for they giue to lay men also Church offices.)*

The place of Ambrose expounded.

Chap. XII.

THat which is alleadged out of *Ambrose*, to confirme that kinde of Elder-shippe which some reformed Churches in this our age haue receiued, is nothing at all to this question. For *Ambrose* there speaketh of Elders in age, not in office.

Such indeed, the Bishops and Elders in times past, tooke in counsel with them, as did also of old the auncient Synagogue. And yet *Ambrose* bringeth them not into any equipage with those, which were Elders in calling, whom he had about him, and who gouerned the Churches vnder him; but he greeueth that such graue and auncient men in yeres, whome the Apostle would not haue reprooued any thing roughly, should not remaine in the like esteeme with the Pastors and Elders of the Church, as they were of olde. For expounding those wordes of *Paule* to *Timothie*: *Rebuke not an auncient (or an Elder) but exhort him as a father*, hee writeth thus, *That in reuerence of his yeares, an ancient man is to be prouoked with mildnes to goodnes, that hee may the rather take warning: for beeing gentlie admonished, hee will be afraide, least afterwards hee should bee more roughly dealt withall; which were a shame for an Elder. For among all nations age is honoured, for which cause both the Synagogues of olde, and afterwards also the Church, had alwayes certaine auncient men, without whose aduise nothing was done in the Church. The which by what negligence it was lefte off, I cannot tell, except haplie it were through the sloth, or rather the pride of some Pastors, because they alone would seeme to bee some thing.* Thus much sayth *Ambrose*: who (I dare bee bound for him) thought nothing lesse, then that anie order of the Ministery, set downe by the Apostles, was nowe worne out: For himselfe had Elders, which did also rule the Church with him, or vnder him; besides that, the words doe shew as cleare as noone-day, that hee spake heere of Elders, not in office, but in age.

1. Tim. 5. 1.

If any vouchsafe certaine auncients (experienced in many thinges) the senate of the Church, I say not against it; but this I auouch, that such (were they all more auncient then *Iaphet*) are not to bee accounted among the Church officers and Elders, which the Apostles ordained. And I dare be bolde further to affirme, that they are in no small errour, who thinke, that the Elders and auncients in certaine reformed Churches in this our age, are of the same sute with those, whome the Apostles ordained in the four-

teenth

teenth of the Actes, and *Paule* ſent for from *Epheſus* in the twentie chapter, Whoſe order and office is deſcribed at large in the Epiſtles to Timothie and Titus.

I perceiue here the reformation of the Engliſh Church, appointeth in euery place certaine Church officers, which repreſent in ſome ſort thoſe auncients and Elders, and they are commonly called *Church-wardens*. Notwithſtanding theſe come ſhort of that authority in Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, *To excommunicate*: but if any excommunicate perſon, ſhall diſorderly preſſe into the holy aſſembly, they are to endeuour (by the aduiſe of the Miniſter) to remoue him. Their ordinary office, according to law, is this; To gather & collect, to lay vp, and lay out the rents and reuenews of the church; to keepe the bodie of the Church, and the reſt in repayre, to keepe the Church booke (together with the Miniſter) to admoniſh offendors, and vnruly fellowes, and as for the ſtubborne, infamous, and offenſiue, to preſent them to the Biſhop, or his deputie, & that vpon their othes: furthermore alſo, to note who they are that abſent themſelues from diuine ſeruice, vpon the Saboth, or holy-daies, and to ſet a fine on their heads, according to the law prouided in that caſe: and alſo, to looke that due ſilence, and all other kind of honeſt ſeemlines bee obſerued in the time of diuine ſeruice. If the ancient Primatiue Church, had any ſuch kind of Elders, they were not (I am ſure) at any time accounted of our elders, among the Elders & Biſhops of our Church: for they alwaies made a difference in the Church, betwene the laike officers, and the Church Miniſters. In *Tertullian* his Apologie, the Elders, which wee reade, were preſent & preſident in chriſtian aſſemblies, were Biſhops and Elders, no temporall men; vnles wee would make him contrary to himſelfe, who iuſtly vpbraided the Heretikes of that time with that fault, That they prophaned Church functions with lay perſons.

Neither are theſe things ſo ſpoken of me, neither wold I be ſo taken, as if I chalenged thoſe reformed Churches, that vſe ſome ſuch like Seniors (for ſo they ſuppoſe) as *Ambroſe* ſeemed to wiſh for: I my ſelfe did vſe them, when I ſupplied

the place of a Minister in some reformed Churches. For the tyrannie of Popish Bishops beeing ouerthrowne, when as they which are indeed the true Elders, doe themselues in like manner sustaine the office of a Bishop: they could not well take vnto themselues the intire gouernment of the Church, without some suspicion of the like; if no lesse tyrannie. And therfore it was necessarie for them, to ioyne with themselues certaine godly men out of the whole corps of the Church: for that without the assistance of their associates, it was not posibie for them alone, to counter-checke the immodestie of bad men, and to bring them into some Coram.

That place of Paule expounded, in his first to Timothie, the fift chapter, What it is to labour in the worde and doctrine.

Chap. XIII.

IT needs not greatly trouble any man, when *Paule* saith; *That those Elders especially are worthie double honour, which labour in the word and doctrine*: as if it followed therupon, that there were other Elders also in the church, which *taught not*: For these two, do not signifie one & the same thing, *to Labour in the worde*, and *to Teach*; seeing there was no Elder ordeined of the Apostles, that was not *apt to teach*. But for as much as the measure of the gifts of Gods spirit, are not alike in all; (for there be which haue receiued fiue talents, who must also pay vse for fiue vnto the Lord; & there be againe, which haue receyued but two:) *To whom much is giuen, of him manie things are required*. If the dolours *Paule* suffered for preaching the Gospell, were compared with other mens labors, we might wel conceiue, how well worthy he was of greater *honour* then they, whose labors were farre vnlike in the like *labour*. Some enioy their office, & haue ioy therof in rest & peace, & teach their people

people at home, and indure no hardſhip abroad; whoſe doctrine is determined within the precincts of theyr own preceſſion. But others there be, which teach not one onely Church, but the whole Church, *with theyr learned labours*, and that not once for all (while they liue onely) but alſo, (a great deale more) after many generations. The which that they may the better performe, they let for no *labour*, they ſpare nor oyle, nor toile, nor health, nor wealth, nor life it ſelfe, in that regard.

Beſides there be, that for the Goſpels ſake, ſet light by the loſſe of friends, and fauors, and riches, and reuenewes; they ouercome daungers not to be numbred, and vndergoe ſlaunders not to be ſuffered, onely that they may inforce and ſet forewards the Goſpell of Chriſt. And ſuch doth the Apoſtle ſeem to vnderſtand in this place; not euery ordinary and perfunctory *Teacher*, that gouernes in the Church, and inſtructeth with wholeſom doctrine the people of God committed to his charge.

The verbe κοπιᾶν, *to labour*, (vſed by him, not in this place onely) ſignifieth properly, great and grieuous labour. And therefore they are far wide, that thinke *Paul* meant in thys place the bare preaching of Gods word, and take this to be the ods betweene theyr Elders, that ſome *teach* the people, others *gouern* only, and that for a while onely, and therein ſupplying alſo, and applying themſelues to the Miniſters of the word. More proportionable to thoſe times, and proper to this word κοπιᾶν, ſuch Elders are to be vnderſtood, as were at that preſent among them; as *Titus* and *Timothy*, and *Tithitus*, *Marke*, *Luke*, and ſuch like *Paul* his legates and ioynte labourers, which in deede feared no daunger, refuſed no *labour*, wherby they might aduance and diuulge the bleſſed doctrine of the ſacred trueth. Of *Timothy*, *Paul* teſtifyeth in the laſt Chapter of the firſt to the Corinth: when as he thus writeth, *If Timothy come vnto you, ſee that hee be without feare among you, for he worketh the worke of the Lord, euen as I doe.* By which we may perceiue that *Timothy* was not without feare, nor yet without daunger, neyther that without cauſe. A

while after ſpeaking of *Stephanus*, and *Achaicus*, and *Fortunatus*, who had giuen themſelues to miniſter vnto the Saints, he ſayth:

And bee yee ſubiect vnto ſuch, and to all that helpe with vs, and labour. After which ſort, I alſo expound that place in the firſt to the Theſſalonians, the firſt chapter & the twelfth verſe.

We beſeech you brethren, that ye know them that labour among you, and are ouer you in the Lord, and admoniſhe you. In all which places, the Apoſtle vſeth the ſame word κοπιᾶν, *to labour*, by the which he vnderſtandeth no ordinary, vulgar, or trifling exerciſe, but an extraordinary, vehement, difficult, and trobleſome *labour*. And therefore *Paul* his meaning is, that how much greater trouble, and more trobleſome turmoyle the Elders vndertake in their office, they are ſo much the more worthy to be graced with the greater Honors. So that *Paul* in theſe wordes, reſpecteth the ſingular care of ſome, not the ſingle preaching of all.

Writing to *Timothy*, he defineth a Biſhopricke to bee a worke: of the which it followeth, that the greater the Biſhoprick is, the greater is the *labour*, the greater is the work. If he which is ouer one onely Church, ſhall finde himſelfe ſomewhat to doe: what ſhall we ſay of them, vnto whome the care of many Churches is committed. So was it with *Titus* and *Timothy*, and diuerſe other Biſhops and Elders, of that order.

The whole ſum therefore of our aſſertion, reſolueth into thus much: that among the Biſhops or Elders in the Scripture, which gouerned Churches vnder the Apoſtles, there were diuerſe degrees *in deed*, by what *names* ſoeuer ye pleaſe to call them; of the which ſome were ouer one Church only, and that vnder the direction of an other, and ſome againe ouer many Churches, ſuppliant to none of the ſame order: as it is wel knowen of *Titus* and *Timothy*, and the reſt. I know there are many, who in the ſecret preiudice of their foreſeaſoned opinions, wil not ſticke to ſay, that *Titus* and *Timothy*, and the reſt of that forme, were Euangeliſtes, and inueſted

with

with an extraordinary kinde of a not immitable authority.

To whom I aunſwere, that I haue heard ſo in deede, and read it to: but without reaſon or proofe at al, of any credit. For where as *Paul* writeth to *Timothy*, and chargeth him that he *doe the worke of an Euangeliſt*, it doth no more conclude that *Timothy* was an *Euangeliſt*, (ſo properly called) then that other place of *Paul* to the Corinthians: *He doth the work of God euen as I*, doth proue that he was an Apoſtle. 2.Tim.4.5. 1.Cor.16.10

That that order is of God, which appoynteth ſuperior Elders, Biſhops. And that but of man, where all Paſtors and Elders are alike.

Chap. XIIII.

WEe haue ſhewed before, what was the extraordinary calling, and the efficacy thereof, (which was to bee found in *Titus* and *Timothy*.) To the which I adde, that all auncient and autentike writings held *Titus* and *Timothy* for Biſhops, vnto whome the Elders of inferiour orders were ſuppliant and ſubiect. In whoſe footings our fathers inſiſting (which next ſucceeded the Apoſtles) reteyned in vſe that forme of gouernement, which they receyued of the Apoſtles. Now a dayes, there bee ſome of this beliefe, that there were onely theſe two degrees of Miniſters left vs by the Apoſtles, namely *Paſtors* and *Doctors*: who cutting ſhort that difference of Paſtors, which I haue noted, and caſting of that auncient decency of Church gouernement, which I haue proued, doe chriſten a new a forrayne and a forged kind of *Preſbitery*, and with much boldnes ſtand forth to auouch, that this theyr newe deuiſe, is diuine, & that other (continuing a lawful diſcent frō the Apoſtles

ſtles time, is but humaine. Wherefore here (beloued) it is time to looke about vs. For they eaſely auoyd all that wee haue already auowed of the Apoſtles, Euangeliſts, and Paſtors; when they aunſwere, that the gouernement Apoſtolique was but *temporanie* and momentary, and determined with the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts themſelues, long ſince deceaſed, ſo that now there is no more any one Apoſtle before another.

But that the trueth of this queſtion may the better appeare, we muſt now haue an eſpeciall eye to all thoſe giftes, which were eſpecially pregnant in the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts, that thereby we may know, what was proper to the Apoſtles and theyr times, and what common to all Paſtors vnto the worlds end. To which end, the firſt thing we are to reuiſe in the Apoſtles, is that theyr extraordinary calling (for they had it immediatly from God,) then alſo, theyr generall Embaſſee and commiſſion without reſtraint, or limitation: Thirdly, that in all things which concerned theyr function, they had a neuer-errant director, (the ſpirite of trueth) who ſuggeſted vnto them, whatſoeuer they before had heard of the Lord, or ſhould otherwiſe be requiſite for them to know. And the laſt thing, is theyr *power Apoſtolique*.

Of theſe, the firſt three were neceſſary, for laying the ground-worke of Churches, vppon the which others ſhould build: the which vnleſſe they had been ſemented (as it were) with the more ſure ioynts and ſtrongeſt ſinewes of Gods ſpirite, what ſoeuer ſhould haue ben rayſed & reared thereuppon by others, muſt needs haue reeled, and ruined together with the ſame. As for the gift of miracles, I ſtand not vpon that, ſeeing that was beſtowed vpon many other of the faithfull alſo, as it pleaſed God. Of all theſe gifts, they could communicate nothing vnto theyr ſucceſſors, beſides the *Miniſtery of the Goſpell*: The which ſeeing it was inherent in the *power Apoſtolique*, they ſurrendered that alſo to theyr ſubſecutors: and that, becauſe it is a thing neceſſary, not only for the increaſe, but alſo for the continuance of Churches. For without the word preached, the Sacraments admini-

miniſtred, and the Church gouerned, there can no Church well continue. Wherefore as the preaching of the worde, and the vſe of the Sacraments was not giuen to the Church, onely for the Apoſtles time, but that they might continue vnto the age to come, euen to the worlds end: So likewiſe the forme of gouernement, which was ordayned of God, and deliuered of the Apoſtles, and confirmed of the fathers, ought to remayne and continue in like ſort. But that forme had Paſtors inferior and ſuperior, and therefore that alſo is to be retained in the Church of God. Neither doth *the equality in the Miniſtery* hinder, why there may not be an *inequality in the policie* of the Church. In the olde law there was one Prieſthood equall and alike to al the Prieſts: & yet were ther diuerſe degrees of Prieſts in reſpect of gouernment, and in an equall order of Prieſthood, there was a not equall Honor of gouernement. Neyther is it preiudiciall to vs, that theyr Prieſthood was Leuiticall and typical, ſeeing the ſtate & gouernement which was among the Prieſts and Leuits, did not ſo much reſpect any intricate type, as a well ordered ſtate: that al things might be done decently and in due order. Wherefore for as much as God himſelfe was author of that policy and gouernment, in the which Leuits were ſubdued to Leuits, and Prieſts to Prieſts: it ought not to be recounted any humaine conſtitution, where a Miniſter is ſubiect to a Miniſter, and one Paſtor to an other: For that is no more vnlawfull at this day, then it was at that.

That our Sauiour by no ſtatute repealed the ſupereminent authority of Paſtors among themſelues.

Chap. XV.

AS for our Sauiour and his cenſure in this matter, I do not finde that by any meanes he did aboliſh the *ſuperiority* of Miniſters but rather that he did eſtabliſh it, when as in the firſt ordinaunce of the Miniſtery, he appoynted Mi-

niſters of the Goſpell, ſome ſuperior & ſome inferior to the reſt. To the which ordinance of Chriſt, thoſe his words are not any whit aduerſe, where he ſayth; *The Kinges of the nations rule ouer them, and they which haue power among them are called gratious: but it ſhall not be ſo with you: but he that is greateſt among you let him be as the leaſt, and he which is chiefe, as he that miniſtreth, &c.* The true and plain ſenſe of which words is this. Your kinde of gouernment ſhal be diuerſe from that which is proper to Princes, whether you take thoſe which are more tyrannous and truculent ouer theyr people, or thoſe which in theyr gouernment, are more milde and moderate, accor- to their lawes. Doth this ſence or ſentence take away that difference of perſons, which the law of nature and the rule of gouernmēt do preſcribe? If ther be any place in the Goſpell (and ther are many) which may be cited for the *ſuperiority* of Miniſters, this is one. For vnleſſe the Lord had meant that in the gouernment of the Church, there ſhould be ſome greater then the reſt, he would neuer haue ſayd, Hee which is *greateſt* among you let him be as the leaſt; he might haue made ſhort worke of al, and as ſoon haue ſayd, There is none *firſt* among you, none *greateſt*, none *chiefe*. But he that is *greateſt* among you (ſaith he) let him be *as* the leaſt, and he which is higheſt, *as* he that miniſtreth. Which were no aduice, wher there is none higher then another. Where all ſhall be alike, what need there any precept, how he which is greateſt amōg them ſhould behaue himſelfe? The meaning therfore of this precept is this: How much any of you is ſuperior to the reſt, ſo much more ſubmiſſe ſhall he carry himſelfe towards the reſt. For albeit all the Apoſtles were of the ſame order and power, yet the difference of age, and diuerſity of gifts was great among them, and therefore it could not be, but that they which had receiued greater gifts of the Lord, ſhoulde receiue greater countenance of men.

The Apoſtle *Paul* in his firſt Chapter to the Galathians doth ſufficiently declare this, where he ſheweth that he had conferred of the Goſpell with them, which ſeemed *to bee ſomewhat*, the which he foorthwith repeating againe, ſheweth, that there were certayne of theſe Apoſtles of *chiefe*

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authority among the reſt, of whome notwithſtanding he affirmeth, that hee receyued nothing. Such was the mildnes and moderation of his ſpirite; hee would not goe about to make that equal in-equality odious, of the which the Lord himſelfe was the author. For hee well knew, that neyther he which had receiued fiue talents, ought to thinke he hath but two, and much leſſe, he which hath but two, to compare himſelfe with him that hath fiue. And in deede, can there be any reaſon giuen, why there ſhould be rather an inequality in gouernement, then in other gifts? or doe men abuſe authority onely, to maintayne theyr tyranny? Doubtleſſe it is not greatly materiall, with what giftes a man enthronize himſelfe Pope ouer his brethren; whether for his fine witte, or deepe knowledge, or ſmooth eloquence, or any other ſuch inward vertue: Whether for the holines of life, or ſtrictnes of faſts, or largenes of almes, or any ſuch outward complement: or elſe for his wealth, his worſhip, and ſuperiour authority. As for the aunſwere of our Sauiour it extendeth far and neare: neyther is it to be referred to the Apoſtles alone, as if it were onely forbidden an Apoſtle, to domineere ouer an Apoſtle, but it ſtretcheth it ſelfe vnto al other. For albeit the power was great, in the which they were to be inſtalled of the Lord, to the benefit of the church; notwithſtanding, that was rather to be imployed of priuate men ouer priuate perſons: and thereupon the Lord forbiddeth that they ſhould after the manner of Kings and Princes κατακυριευειν, that is domineer, or *rule by force*. Hence is it that *Paul* writeth to the Corinthians; *Not that we haue dominion ouer your faith: but that we are miniſters of your ioy*: And in the firſt of Peter; *Not as if we ruled by force ouer the choſen*. For that in deede, becauſe it beſeemed men priuate ouer priuat men, the Lord hath forbidden his Apoſtles that, and hath taught them rather to make the harts of the people to relent by lenity and intreaty, as we read the Apoſtle *Paul* did in many places, & ſpecially in the ſecond to the Corinthes, where he thus writeth; *Wherefore are we now ambaſſadors in the name of Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you through vs, wee intreate you in the name of Chriſt, that yee bee reconciled to God.*

2.Cor.1.24.
1. Pet.5.3.
2.Cor.5.20.

And yet notwithſtanding in other places he is again more ſharpe and ſeuere, as when he ſayth, *What will yee? ſhall I come vnto you with a rod? or in loue, and the ſpirite of meekenes?* And in the latter Epiſtle the tenth Chapter, when hee ſpeaketh of that power he receyued of the Lord, he ſheweth how little primacy was in the Church, in ſuch things as pertayned to the kingdome of God. By all the which it doth appeare, that by that prohibition of violent dominion which Kings may vſe ouer theyr ſubiects, the power of gouernement in the Church is not inhibited, by the which one Miniſter is eminent in authority ouer another, no more then the power of the Paſtor is thereby intercepted, which is ordinary and ought to be ouer his people. Will any man ſay, that the Lord hath ſo confounded thoſe two diſtinct orders of Miniſters, that the Apoſtles ſhould differ in nothing from the ſeuenty Diſciples? I doe therefore greatly wonder, that men learned ſhould ſo far ouer-ſhoote themſelues, as once to perſwade, or to be perſwaded, that out of this place (ſo often aledged to ſo little purpoſe) the ſuperior authority of Biſhops ouer Prieſts was forbiddē by Chriſt: the which they can by no means do, without the reproofe & reproch, the preiudice and impeachment of all the moſt auncient & beſt learned Fathers, whoſe perſons they may ſoner accuſe, then conuince of Tyranny, and whoſe gouernement they may more eaſely diſcommend, then mend. *The Lorde his purpoſe was to take that error from the Apoſtles, which was in their minds, not to take that power from the Apoſtles, which he had giuen into their hands.*

That the forme of the Apoſtles gouernment, did not end with the death of the Apoſtles.

Chap. XVI.

THat the gouernment of the Apoſtles, is ſayde by ſome to haue deceaſed with the death of the Apoſtles, it is neyther grounded vppon true authority of Scripture, nor proued by any conſequence of reaſon, nor maintayned by any preſident of the Fathers. Neither is it of

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any greater force, nor haue they any greater reaſon, that ſay the Apoſtles authority was extraordinary: For by the ſame reaſon they may at this day deny, that any man hath any authority *to baptiſe and to preach*. If what things were *extraordinary* in the Apoſtles, they could not returne to theyr poſterity: may not the ſame reaſon ſerue to proue, that ther is no authority left vnto vs after the Apoſtles, either to preach or to baptiſe? I would gladly then hear ſome iuſt cauſe, why rather the Church gouernment ſhould ceaſe with vs which was vnder the Apoſtles, then the preaching of the Goſpell, or the adminiſtring of the Sacraments. For in them ther was as much *extraordinary*, as in the other.

This is much like, as if of olde a man ſhould haue ſayde, that after the death of *Moyſes* and *Aaron*, the Prieſts and Leuites had not the ſame power with *Moyſes* and *Aaron*, becauſe theirs was *extraordinary*. Wherefore as after theyr deceaſe, the ſame order of gouernment which was vſed of *Moſes* and *Aaron*, remayned to their poſterity: In like manner, the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts were a lantherne and a law vnto vs which ſhould come after them, of perfect Church gouernement. And that which our Sauiour ſayd of the Prieſtes of the Iewes, That they did ſit vppon the chayre of *Moyſes* and *Aaron*, may be ſayd of our Biſhops, that they ſit in the chayre of *Peter* and *Paul*, that is, that they haue ſucceeded them in the ſame ſeate and ſtate of gouernment.

There are two words, which being not well taken, may be very offenſiue, namely, *Temporarie* and *extraordinary*: For it is to be vnderſtood, that theſe are not ioyntly to be giuen alike to the whole function Apoſtolick, and euery part therof. And yet ſome are made to beleeue, that whatſoeuer was in them *extraordinary*, the ſame was alſo *temporarie*: When as in deed, whatſoeuer was in them *extraordinary*, was not *temporarie*: For all things in the Apoſtles were *extraordinary*, of the which many things in proceſſe of time became *ordinary*. Onely thoſe things which deceaſed with the Apoſtles were *temporarie*. But what things thoſe were, I haue already declared at large.

And nowe, that I may first begin with the preaching of the gospell: it were very hard to restraine that to the persons of the Apostles, and their age onely: For albeit so large a legacie, as was the Apostles, bee not committed vno any: yet is there some such like of the same kinde, with the like authoritie.

That the commandement, To preach the gospell vnto all nations, (*the Apostles beeing now receiued vp into heauen*) *doth in like manner bind the Church: to the which the* Authoritie Apostolique, *is also requisite.*

Chap. XVII.

THe command, *to preach the gospell*, and the commission, *to all nations*, wee vnderstand to bee so giuen in charge to the Apostles, that withal it obligeth the church also; nether did the charge of preaching the gospell to the incredulous heathen, respect the apostles only, but al future ages to the worlds end. In the last of Mathew, when the Lord had sayd, that all power was giuen vnto him in heauen and in earth, and had commanded, *that they should go forth, and teach al nations, &c.* he added; *I am with you vnto the worlds end.* Which cannot be restrained to the Apostles onely, seeing it concerneth all whom he commandeth to preach, and to whom he promiseth his diuine presence for euer: neither can this promise be deuorced from the former command, and thereby it appeareth, that Christ commanded the church also; that the Apostles hauing takē heauen, order might be taken, that the gospell might be preached to the Gentiles in all coastes, vpon al occasions. And verelie if the *Apostolique authority* had bin Temporarie, that also had bene a personal gift, and particuler: neither would they haue presumed to haue taken themselues companions and co-partners in that Apostolik charge, to the which themselues only were appointed of the Lord,

Lord. But when as they knew, that their office, & whatſoeuer authoritie they had receaued, was rather giuen to the whole church, then to their ſole ſelues; they therevpon were bolde, to make others, ioynt partners with them in their Apoſtolike power, whom they alſo knew ſhould be their ſucceſſors. Neither in nature, could ſo great a worke bee finiſhed of ſo few labourers: and therfore alſo the commandement of the Lord, could no further bind the Apoſtles, then for the terme of their mortalitye: in the which time, the Lorde did not purpoſe to determine, either the promiſe of his helpe, or the preaching of his word.

The Apoſtles then had need of many helpers in the Lord, and fellow-labourers for the buſines of the Lord: the which when they could not accompliſh themſelues, they left their poſteritie to finiſh that, which themſelues could not effect. Had the Apoſtles carried their commiſſion to heauen with them, and beſides the priuate care of perticular Churches, the Biſhops (whome the Apoſtles left their ſucceſſours) had thought the further propagation of the goſpel did nothing pertaine to them: I doubt me, the cõfines of Chriſt his kingdome had neuer bene enlarged to ſo great a monarchie as it is. What neede I remember you of the rare and memorable examples, of the thriſe reuerend fathers in the Primatiue church? With what ſerious ſtudie, with what earneſt deſire, with what conſtant endeuour, and laſt of al, with what great labours, and many ſtreaming ſhowers of the bloud of Martyrs, were the churches of olde planted, watered, and increaſed? It is a thing better knowen and commended, then that I need to repeat it, or themſelues to repent it.

Notwithſtanding there be ſome in theſe daies, which take vp but to ſhrewdly this ſentence of ours: as if it were ſome Anabaptiſticall fancie, when it is ſaid, that the Church hath at this day, if not Apoſtles, yet Apoſtolique Miniſters: but as for the fancie, (if Anabaptiſticall) let themſelues looke to that, leaſt they take themſelues by the noſe. For my part, I would but know, whether the goſpel yet at this day, now after a 1500. yeares, be come to the eares of all Nations.

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In the meane time, let them consider howe many nations, (whom the Apostles neuer saw) by the paines and preaching of godlie Pastors, (who in this labour succeeded the Apostles) haue receiued the Lord Christ.

I will not nowe stand to tell them, onely this I conclude, that the commaund and commission of preaching the Gospell, standeth yet in his ful strength and force in the church of God, and shuld, so long as there is any nation, that knoweth not the Lord. That at this day there is none sent by the churches of Christ, to the nations which haue not knowen Christ, it is not long of the lacke of sufficient power to send, but of sufficient persons to be sent, or at least wise, of a better zeal to aduãce the kingdom of Christ. Indeed no man ought to tempt the Lord: Did not himselfe forbid his Apostles to stir one foot out of Ierusalem, to discharge their duty before they had receiued the holy Ghost? So requisite is it, that a man bee throughly furnished for so great an enterprise, before he vndertake it. And therefore, because the iudgement of one man may be ouer-weening and deceiued, (especially if he may be his owne iudge) it is requisite, that the authoritie of the church in that case be expected. But here is required an *Authority Apostolique*: the which if the Church haue not, (although it haue fit men) neither hath it the power to send. For who can giue that to another, which hee hath not himselfe? Whosoeuer therefore is sent (whether you please to call him an *Apostle*, or an *Euangelist*, or a *Bishop*,) hee hath need of the like, and no lesse power then *Timothy* and *Titus* had in the like, and no lesse charge.

This therefore is the authoritie which is assigned to the church by the *Keies*: the which the Lord our Sauiour gaue, not so much to *Peter* and his collegiats, as to the Church it selfe: so that of right it maye doe that at this daye, which it could of old; namely, wher occasion serueth to giue in commission vnto sufficient men, the publishing of the Gospell, with *Authoritie Apostolique*.

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That the Apoſtolike authoritie *is as neceſſarie for the conſeruing and confirming, as for the founding and firſt planting of Churches.*

Chap. XVIII.

BVt for as much as the *power Apoſtolike*, is no leſſe needfull and neceſſarie for the conſeruing and confirming, as for the planting, and firſt placing of churches, we muſt alſo haue a ſpecial regard to that. For by reaſon (as it is thought) of Biſhops and Arch-biſhops, Primats, and Metropolitanes, which haue ſucceeded the Apoſtles and the Euangeliſts, there is now ſome controuerſie moued for that. And verely I haue oftentimes wondered with my ſelfe, what it is that ſhould make anie learned or religious man thinke, that the office of Apoſtles and Euangelittes, is ceaſed in the Church, and that at this day there are none poſſeſſed of any *authoritie Apoſtolike*, to whom the other Elders ought to ſupply in the gouernance of the Church: and I wonder the more, that there bee any that ſhould thinke the *power Apoſtolike*, a thing ſo *extraordinarie*, as if it were not poſsible, that it ſhould be deuolued to their poſteritie.

Indeed the Church hath not continued thoſe names amongſt vs: but is that ſufficient to prooue, that with thoſe titles, the authority alſo is ſurceaſed? Firſt, if a man would but well marke the latter daies of the Apoſtles (of *Paule* eſpecially) he ſhould find, that the *Apoſtolike gouernment* could not poſsibly end with the Apoſtles. For by thoſe things the ſacred Scripture doth teſtifie of *Paule*, wee may iudge of the reſt, who no doubt, were no leſſe carefull for the good of the Church, euen to their laſt gaſpe, whereſoeuer it pleaſed God to tranſlate them out of this life: But the ſecond Epi-

ſtle of S. *Paul* to *Timothie* (indited about the laſt of his daies) doth witneſſe abundantly, what an vniuerſall care hee had euen then of the Churches. There hee maketh mention of his fellow-labourers, whereof ſome he had ſent to goe vnto diuers Churches, and ſome hee ſent for to come vnto himſelfe; that beeing now readie to flit out of this life, he might giue them his laſt charge of all things, concerning the welfare of the Church, and the furniſhing of that building himſelfe had left vnfiniſhed.

This his laſt will and Teſtament hee left with them. The which had beene to no purpoſe, had the *power Apoſtolike* died with him, or had the authoritie of that their legacie beene compelled within the circuit of euery particular pariſh. For they all, whom *Paul* there remembreth (as *Titus*, *Marke*, *Luke*, *Creſcens*, *Tithicus*, and *Timothie* himſelfe) were aſſociate with *Paule* in his *Apoſtolike ſea*, as vnto whoſe ſeuerall charge, hee had demiſed many and ſundry Churches; The which if it were not free for them (with that recreant *Demas*) to caſt vp, and giue ouer, while *Paul* yet liued, how much leſſe, after he was dead? Wherefore now they were made, and remaine his heires (as before they were his peeres) of his *Apoſtolike paines and prabeminence*.

That the other Apoſtles had alſo their conſorts and collegiats in their Apoſtolike charge, vnto whom (themſelues diſcontinuing this life) they demeaned the no leſſe care of the Churches with the like authoritie, there was neuer wiſe man that doubted of it. And furthermore, that their lawfull authoritie, with the which they proſecuted and perſeuered in the Lord his affaires, could no more be extinguiſhed with them, then it was aboliſhed with the Apoſtles (ſo long as there was any church remaining.) But as they ſucceeded the Apoſtles, ſo had they their ſucceſſors: vpon whom if themſelues did not beſtow the power they had receiued, the Church did; *which is heire generall of the power Apoſtolike*.

But goe to nowe: let vs imagine (if there can bee ſuch a conceit) that it is not ſo, as I haue ſaide: let vs ſuppoſe alſo for a while, that the Apoſtles left all vnto Paſtors and Elders

ders of equall authoritie, who had onely the charge of their ſeuerall Churches, and their prouinces limited within the precincts of their owne onely pariſhes; What then (ſhall we ſay) became of thoſe Churches, in the which the Apoſtles (intercepted by death) or they which with the Apoſtles did gouerne the Churches, could not ordeine anie Paſtors? Did their death fal out ſo pat, that euerie Church had their Paſtors and Doctors, and that none of them was left out of faſhion, (I meane without their *Deacons*, and *Doctors*, and *Paſtors*, and *Presbyters*) as were ſomtime the Churches of *Creet* vnder the Apoſtle *Paule*? Who then followed the work that was vnfiniſhed? Was there no need then of ſome *Timothie* or *Titus*, to make perfect that, which was yet not performed? The Apoſtles yet liuing, it was needfull that *Titus* and *Timothie*, and diuers ſuch others, ſhould haue a larger commiſſion; how much rather after their death? Wherefore to conclude, either the worke of God, begun of the Apoſtles, was altogether to bee left off, or elſe to bee followed a freſh by thoſe, whom for that purpoſe they left behind them.

By the teſtimonie of Euſebius *his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie the former chapiter is confirmed.*

Chap. XIX.

Euſebius, in the third booke and fourth chapter of his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie, writeth thus; *But that* Paule *preached the worde of God vnto the Gentiles, and that hee laide the foundation of Churches from Hieruſalem, and the confines thereof, euen vnto Illyricum, it ſufficiently appeareth, not onely by his owne wordes, but alſo out of the booke of* Luke, *intituled*, The Actes of the Apoſtles. *Furthermore, in what Prouinces or dominions, the Apoſtle* Peter *preached the Goſpell vnto them which were of*

the Circumcision, and deliuered the worde of the newe Testament, it is plaine and euident enough out of his owne wordes, taken out of that Epistle, we haue truly proued to be his by the consent of all men, and which he wrote to the Iewes dispersed throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, & Bithinia, *&c.* And againe in the same place; *But how many, and who were the true & natural followers of the Apostles, which were accounted able and fit men to gouerne the Churches which they had founded, it is not easie to say, they only excepted, whō some perhaps may gather by the way out of* Paul *his writings. For the which purpose* Luke *also maketh not a little, who reckoneth by name the Disciples of* Paule, *whilest he laboureth to record them in the Acts. Among whom was* Timothie, *who is said to be the first that obtained the Bishopricke of the Church which is at* Epheſus. Titus *also was ouer the churches which are in* Creet. And in the same place he saith: *That among the rest of* Paule *his companions and Disciples* Crescens *was one, whom* Paule *himselfe witnesseth, was gone into Galatia:* Linus *was another, whō in his second to* Timothy, *he witnesseth to haue been with him at Rome, whom also we haue declared before, to haue been the first Bishop of the Church of Rome, after* Peter. *And another was* Clement, *who was the third Bishop of Rome, whom* Paule *affirmeth, to haue beene his copartner and fellow-labourer in the Lord. Vnto which we may adde that Areopagite,* Dionisius *by name, of whom* Luke *in the Actes reporteth, that he was conuerted to the faith after that sermon of* Paule, *which he made in* Mars *street at Athens, and of whom an other* Dionisius, *pastor of the Church at Corinth (a verie auncient writer) doth record, that he was the first Bishop of the Church at Athens.*

The same *Eusebius* in the same booke, the one & thirtie chapter, hath these wordes; *And besides these, there were manie other of that age very famous, who both immediately succeeded the Apostles, and also as the Disciples of so great and excellent Maisters, being adorned with many singular and diuine vertues, raised a most comely edifice vpon the the foundations of the Apostles, which they had well laid in all places: who both amplified more fully and plentifully the preaching of the Gospell, and sowed the seedes of the kingdome of heauen far and neare, throughout the vniuersall world. For all the Disciples for the most part, which liued in that age, being*

inflamed

inflamed with a more ardent Zeale and earnest loue of the heauenlie wisedome, and beeing rauished in minde with a rare kinde of desire after Gods worde, executed verie exquisitely the commaundement of our Sauiour, which before was giuen; and to them which wanted their helpe they willingly vnfoulded all their treasures. Afterwards, straying farre from their owne home, they performed the pensions of Euangelists, and to those which had not as yet so much as heard of the word of faith, they laboured with all care and constancie to preach Christ, and to deliuer the Scripture of the holy Gospell. Who, when as in diuers farre and foreine countries they had laide the foundations onely of the faith, and had ordained other Pastors, and committed the care to them of those which were newly brought to the faith, that they might be diligently trayned vp in the doctrine of Christ, themselues departed into other regions and countries, with the grace and power of God. For many wonderfull powers and miracles, by the helpe of the holy spirite, were done by them euen vnto that day: so that throngs of people beeing perswaded, euen at the first hearing of the Gospell preached, with readie wils enterteined and imbraced that religion and worshippe, which is onelie due vnto God, the author of all things. Thus farre *Eusebius.*

I could alledge other particulars out of the same author, and others, of diuers Bishops, sent by diuers Churches, at diuers times, to conuert the Gentiles. In whome it was necessarie, that they should haue the like authority with that, which *Titus* & *Timothie* receiued of the Apostles. That some heere flie vnto their old starting hole of *extraordinarie calling*, when they are called vppon with these reasons; they haue small reason. For, an ordinarie Ministerie beeing established in the Church, it is as badly, as boldly done of them, and it will proue but an euill example to others, to alleadge an *extraordinary calling*, vnlesse they could make some certaine profe thereof.

Wherefore, if we would but a litle more attentiuely conceiue and consider, what the state of the Churches was thorowout the world, when the Apostles departed from hence, wee should soone find that in many places they left well ordered Churches, in the which there was nothing awanting,

that is, which had there one Bishop ouer them, (as were the seuen Churches of Asia, vnto whome the spirit of the Lorde speaketh in the Reuelation:) and again we should find some other Churches, as yet not finished and throughly fashioned, which wanted many thinges to their perfection, some more, some lesse, according to the time, the place, the plentie & scarcitie of the people, which had giuen their names to Christ. And besides all this, wee shall finde innumerable places, whether the Apostles could not come, where were no Churches at all. But whatsoeuer, or of what manner soeuer they were, they were all dependant vppon the Apostles gouernment: whome if no man did succeede with like authoritie, it must needes bee, that they were all left as widdowe Churches and Orphans; which is an absurd thing to say. But if wee shall say, that they chaunged that manner of gouernment, with the which they were acquainted vnder the Apostles: how could that possiblie bee permitted, without the great mischiefe and miserie of all those Churches?

Of these things therefore I inferre, That there was left of the Apostles *Authoritie Apostolike* to their successors, whom they had disposed ouer many Churches: and that, partly for the establishing of such Churches as were throughly finished, and partly, for the finishing of such as were left not throughly formed, and partly also for the planting of newe, where as yet there was none founded. And this was the cause, why *Paule* beeing shortly to take his leaue of his life, sent *Crescens* into Galatia, and *Titus* into *Dalmatia*, and sent for *Timothie* and *Marke* to make their repaire vnto himselfe. Euen as the Lord himselfe, being now readie to giue vp this life, prouided for his Disciples; in like manner, the Apostles tooke great care for those Churches, which were gathered, and were to bee gathered from among the Gentiles; otherwise, how should the Churches haue receiued their so great increase after the Apostles? Verely, it is with teares to bee lamented, that their holy Apostolike zeale is at this day so cooled amongst vs, that no man so much as once thinketh of publishing the Gospell, vnto Nations altogether

estraun-

eſtraunged from the faith of Chriſt.

But now, ſeeing there were manie Churches lefte of the Apoſtles but newe begun, and more, not yet begun, according to that power they had receyued of the Lord, the work of the Gentiles conuerſion which was begun by them, was to be followed to the ende. Of the which it followeth, that the *Apoſtolike power*, giuen of the Lord for the edifiying of his Church, doth yet remaine in the Church. And thoſe parts of *Apoſtolike gouernment*, as they were giuen of old to certain ſingular Biſhops, ſo are they to be giuen at this day, where they are not giuen, and ſo are they to remaine, where they are giuen. If any man deſire ſome reformation to bee had in that kind, for my part I am not againſt it. The diſpoſing of this power, the Church hath, as it alwayes had; yet ſo, as where the Lord hath giuen a Chriſtian Magiſtrate, hee bee not left out, nor looſe his part. For they doubtleſſe are thoſe Seniors, Auncients and Elders, of the which there is ſo often mention in the Bible: whom we read to haue beene ioyned of old with the Prieſts and Leuites in weightie matters: for they are in ſteadd of the whole people.

That the authoritie of Biſhops ouer Prieſts or Elders is approued by the conſent of the Churches throughout the whole world.

Chap. XX.

THat which we read to be done of al Churches from the Apoſtles times, and of the Fathers throughout the compaſſe of the whole earth, and the ſame continued euen vnto theſe our daies, I do alwaies holde as a ſacred Canon of the Apoſtles, not to bee repealed. Neyther is it a ſmal preſumption to abrogate that, which hath beene receyued with ſo greate and vniuerſall conſent; from the which to reuolt, beſides that it is in it ſelfe an vncouth declination of a conceit giddie

die and head-strong, it will also bring with it a greater mischiefe and misery to the Church, then many at the first will conceiue, or any in the end can releeue. Among the old Canons, which for their antiquity are called the Apostles, wee read this that followeth: *It becommeth the Bishops of euery nation to know, who is the chiefe among them, which is to bee accounted as it were the head, without whose opinion these ought to do nothing of any great moment, but that euerie man doe those things which belong vnto his owne parish, and the villages which are of the same. Neither let himselfe doe any thing without the knowledge of all: for so there shall be concord, and God shall be glorified through our Lord in his holy spirit.*

This Canon (a worde or two translated) is renued in the Councell of Antioch, in these wordes: *The Bishops which are in seuerall prouinces ought to know, that he which is Bishop in the Metropolitane Cittie, hath charge also of the whole prouince, for that they which haue any businesse, recourse from all places to the Metropolis or mother Cittie. Wherefore it seemeth expedient, that hee excell the rest in honour, and that the other Bishops doe nothing of anie great moment without him (according to the auncient decree of our Fathers) but onely those things which pertaine vnto their owne precincts, & the Parishes subiect to the same. For let euerie Bishop haue authoritie ouer his owne prouince, and let him gouerne the same according to his owne deuotion: and let him haue charge of the whole prouince which is subiect to his Cittie, that hee may create Priestes and Deacons, and dispose all things with iudgment: besides this, let him doe no other thing without the Bishop of the mother Church, neyther hee himselfe without the opinion of the rest.* In which Canon renewed and reestablished, I obserue two thinges: the first is, the Antiquitie of the Canon; the other is, That the prouince was not alwaies committed to the Bishop of the Metropolitane Cittie; seeing a cause is added, why Ecclesiasticall controuersies are to be presented to the Bishop of the Metropolitane Cittie, rather then to any other: of the which seeing the Apostles Canon made no mention, the first Fathers seemed not alwaies to haue had that respect of the said Metropolis.

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The antiquitie of this custome, is sufficiently declared in the seuenteenth chapter of the *Nicene* councel, as followeth: *Let the auntient custome preuaile, which was in* Egypt, Lybia, *and* Pentapolie, *that the Bishops of Alexandria haue an excellency & supreme dignitie ouer all these: Seeing that this is also the custome with the Bishop of Rome. In like manner, at* Antioch, *and in other Prouinces, primacie, dignitie, honor, authoritie, is giuen vnto those Churches. But this is most plaine: that if any man be made a Bishop, without the consent of the Metropolitane, The great Councell defineth, that he ought not to be a Bishop.* Thus goeth the Law, neither were it anye great matter to confirm the same, with the Canons of other Councels, and Ecclesiasticall histories. But by this it may appeare, what was the iudgement of all those auncient fathers concerning this matter.

That some are of opinion, that Patriarches and Archbishops were first created of the Nicene councell, or (as some will haue it) of the first Constantinopolitane Councell; their opinion is their errour: for the Nicene councell, which was called about the twentie yeare of Constantine the great, testifieth, that it enacteth no new thing, when it commaunded, that the olde custome should bee continued: so that, it was no new thing at that time, for some one Bishop to haue superiour authority ouer the rest of his brethren, his authoritie being limited by certaine lawes. But that some argue, how that to be president ouer diuers Prouinces, & to haue charge of them, belongeth to the office of an Apostle, and an Euangelist; and that one and the same man cannot bee an Apostle and an Euangelist and a Bishoppe, for that these are distinct offices: I may answere them, that neuer yet any before these our daies, did euer either so think, or write. The Fathers haue testified in their writinges, what they receiued of their fore-fathers, that *Iames* an Apostle was ordained of the rest, Bishoppe of Ierusalem. The which thing also seemeth to haue bene done vpon iust and necessarie occasion: namely, for the necessary good of the Church. For when as that was the mother of all other churches, & that the Iews resorted thither out of al the parts of the world, it ought not

but to haue an Apoſtle reſiant among thē, ſo long as might be: who might reſolue the brethren in ſuch doubtes, as were likely to ariſe among them. Although indeede, to pilgrime through diuers regions, & to preach the goſpel, is moſt properly appertaining to the office of an Apoſtle: ſo that they may not abide in one place, but where neceſſitie requireth.

As therefore the Apoſtles diſcharged the duty of a *Biſhop* when as they took vpon them the particuler charge of ſome on ſpecial church (namely, when the neceſſity of the church vniuerſall did ſo require,) neither did thinke they did anye thing therin, contrarie to their Apoſtolik calling, ſo likewſe if that which wholy pertaineth to the Apoſtles, be cōmitted to the Biſhops, it need not ſeme a thing either vnreaſonable, or not profitable, when the good order of church gouernement doth require the ſame. But whereas the Canon ſayth, that we ſhould keepe the old cuſtome, not the Lords inſtitution: it may ſeme that the power of Patriarks, crept into the church of a contrarie cuſtome, rather then of any diuine inſtitution. I anſwere, that the canon doth not gaine-ſay, that the power Apoſtolique in church-gouernment was not left vnto the church, of the Apoſtles: but that, beſides or aboue the reſt, theſe or they, ſhuld inioy it (as namely he of *Antioch Alexandria, Ieruſalem*, & *Rome*,) that indeed was of the mere cuſtome, and at the ſole diſpoſition of the church. For thoſe particular Biſhops did not receiue their Apoſtolique power immediatly from G O D, as did the Apoſtles, but from the church and by the church; the which as it is not reſtrained to any certaine ſituate places or perſons, citties, or Biſhops: ſo neither is the *autority Apoſtolik*. Who doubteth but that the Nicen coūcell, or any other like to that, might haue tranſlated the Patriarkie of the Romain BB. to ſome other place, & haue giuen it to the BB. of *Rauenna*, or of *Aquiline*, for good cauſe, if their had bene any? The like I ſay of the Patriarks of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*. But that the councels of Biſhops had this authority, they declared then ſufficiently, when as they made him of *Conſtantinople* com-peer in all things with him of *Rome*. By the which alſo it may euidently apeare, that

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the prerogatiue of the *power Apoſtolique*, was not giuen by ſucceſſion, but as it was beſt befitting the commodity of the church, by thoſe eſpecial cities. And therfore, in that the Canon giueth that to cuſtome, it doth not therby take from it the *diuine inſtitution*. But that I may return to the next ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles and Euangeliſts, *Titus* and *Timothy*, and the reſt whom ſacred writ recordeth, were ioyned with the Apoſtles as aſſiſtants, that they were Biſhops, & had charge of many churches, the moſt ancient and authentike tradition approoueth the ſame: neither are thoſe thinges ſo far at variance betweene themſelues, as ſome would haue them, *to be a Biſhop, & to do the worke of an Apoſtle*, or *an Euangeliſt*. For this is the common conſent of all the fathers, that the office of a Biſhop, and an Apoſtle or Euangeliſt are all one, onely that the office of the one is more ample, and auguſtious. *Cyprian* in his 10. epiſtle writeth thus. *The Deacons ought to remember, the Lord himſelf did chuſe Apoſtles, that is Biſhops & Prelats: but the Apoſtles themſelues ordeined them Deacons, after hee was receiued vp into heauen.* Thus ſaith *Cyprian*; out of whoſe words we may learne, that a *Biſhoprick is* an *Apoſtleſhip*, as alſo an *Apoſtleſhip* is a kind of *biſhopricke*. Herevpon the Apoſtle *Peter* in the Acts, calleth the *Apoſtleſhip* of *Iudas* a *biſhopricke*. And in like maner ſpeaketh *Auguſtine*. *For no man is ignorant* (ſaith he) *that our Sauior ordeined biſhops in the church. For before he aſcended into heuen, he layd his hands vpon his Apoſtles, & made them biſheps.* And *Ambroſe* vpon that in the 4. to the *Epheſians*, *ſome weregiuen to the church Apoſtles*: writeth thus. *The Apoſtles are* BB. *but the Prophets are expounders of the ſcriptures, which may now be called Prieſts. For in a* BB *all the orders are contained, becauſ he is firſt a prieſt, who is chiefe of ths prieſts, and a Prophet, & an Euangeliſt, to the furniſhing of the reſt of the officesof the church.* Theodoret alſo vpō the 1. to *Tim.* cap. 3. ſaith thus. *Of old they called the ſame men Prieſts and* BB. *but thoſe that are now called* BB. *they then called Apoſtles: but long ſince, they left the name of Apoſtles, to thē which were indeed apoſtles: but the additiō of* BB. *they impoſed vpon ſuch, as of old were called* Apoſtles: *ſo was Epaphroditus the* Apoſtle *of the Philip, & ſo Titus of the Cretenſians, & Timothy of Aſia.* All the fathers which ſucceeded the *Apoſtles*, were not

of opinion, that the forme of gouernement they had receiued of the Apoſtles, ſhould euer haue bene altered or exauterate: the which verelye they could neuer haue perſwaded themſelues, had they knowen, that the gouernement of Titus and Timothie, had bene but *Temporarie*, and *Extraordinarie*. But is it credible, nay is it poſſible, that Timothie & Titus, and others, vnto whome the like prouince was demiſed, ſhould be ignoraunt of this themſelues? *Auguſtine* expounding that in the 44. Pſalme, *Inſtead of thy Fathers, thou ſhalt haue children*, ſheweth that our Biſhoppes inherited the Apoſtles, as children their fathers. And were it not a point of frontles and vngracious inſolencie to deny, that our fathers had their Biſhops and Prelats, euen from the Apoſtles times, and a part of needles and ſuperfluous diligence, to proue a thing ſo manifeſt: I might eaſilie, and would willingly ſtaie vpon the citing & ſummoning of many more fathers, vntil we were fully compaſſed with a cloud of witneſſes. But this is not the queſtion: but rather it is nowe doubted, whether the ordinance of Biſhops bee of God, or of men, as an order that ſlipt into the church, rather of humaine cuſtome, then diuine cõſtitution. Wherfore of things confeſſed & granted, let vs decide and determin things doubted and in queſtion.

That Biſhops are ordained by a diuine inſtitution and Apolique tradition.

Chap. XXI.

THere is nothing more certaine, then this, That the Apoſtles ordained nothing in the Church, which they receiued not of the Lord. But they created Biſhops, (as *Titus* and *Timothie*) whereſoeuer need was in the Church. And indeed, had not the Apoſtles created Biſhops, as they diſperſed themſelues thorough out the whole worlde, how could euer the calling of Biſhoppes haue bene ſo vniuerſallie approoued by ſo general an aſſent of all citties?

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But when as many Churches were infinitely diſtant from others, is it not ſtraunge, that not any one Church retayned that *diuine kinde*, of gouernement (as it is thought) which is adored at this day in ſome reformed Churches? Doubtles, Churches ſo diuerſe and diſtant, could not but greatly differ in things *indifferent*, where there was no certaynty ſette downe by the Apoſtles. And therefore this could not bee without a miracle of eyther part: Namely, that eyther they ſhould ſo vniuerſally conſort in this one gouernement, if it were not receiued by tradition frō the Apoſtles, or that with ſo generall a conſent they ſhould alter the ſame, if it were. For all the world knoweth, that in all the world the gouernment was one, and the ſame for all the world.

This is without queſtion and beyond all exception, that all the auncient autentike fathers, (ſo many as held the right faith) were of this beliefe, that in this onely plot, they did follow the *Apoſtolique tradition*, and *diuine inſtitution*. *Ireneus* in his thirde booke the third Chapter, againſt Hereſies, writeth thus, *It is eaſie for all men to ſee (that will ſee the truth) the auncient tradition of the Apoſtles in the Church, through the whole worlde: and we can recken vp thoſe which were ordayned Biſhops of the Apoſtles themſelues, and theyr ſucceſſors alſo euen vnto our ſelues, which neyther taught, nor knew any ſuch thing as theſe men doate of.* Out of the which it appeareth: That, what thing was receyued in al Churches, which were founded of the Apoſtles, was an *Apoſtolique tradition*, and *diuine inſtitution*, but the order of Biſhops was receyued euery where in all Churches, and therefore an Apoſtolique tradition and a diuine inſtitution. *Ciprian* in his fourth booke the ninth Epiſtle. *From whence* (ſayth he) *are ſciſmes bred, and yet do breed, but where the Biſhop which is one and ouer the Church, is condemned by the proud preſumption of ſome, and the man which is honored by the* acceptance of God, *is diſhonored by diſhoneſt men. &c.* The ſame *Ciprian* in his ſeuen and twenty Epiſtle (according to the order of his Epiſtle) citing that of *Mathews*, *Thou art Peter & vpon this work &c.* he inferreth, That euē frō thence, according to the courſe of time and ſucceſſion of ages, the

ordination of Biſhops, & the computation of the Church doth run? So that the Church may ſeeme to be grounded vppon Biſhops, and euery action of the Church to be gouerned by the ſame Preſidents. Wherefore ſeeing this is thus founded vpon the diuine ordinance of God, I cā but wonder at ſom.

That it was the opinion of Aerius, That there is no difference betweene a Biſhop and a Prieſt: *which was condemned for an Hereſie by the Fathers.*

Chap. XII.

THus haue we heard of the acceptance of God, & the diuine ordinance, vpon which the authority of Biſhops relied, as our Fathers beleeued. To the which I now adde, that had not the orthodoctike fathers belieued, that the order of Biſhops was grounded vpon the word of God, they would neuer haue recounted the opinion of *Aerius*, among other Hereſies: Who three hundred yeares long after the Apoſtles times, was the firſt that durſt affirm, *That there was no difference betweene the holy Biſhop, and an ordinary Prieſt.* Of whom *Epiphanius* recordeth, that hee ſpake more like a fury, then a man; who (as hee alſo reporteth) was wont to ſay, *What is a Biſhop to a Prieſt? there is no difference betweene them: for there is but one order, and one honor, and one dignity. The Biſhop layeth on his hands, the Bishop ſitteth on his throne, ſo likewiſe doth the Prieſt.* Thus ſayth *Aerius*. But of the other ſide, *Epiphanius* firſt ſheweth, That a *Biſhop* may *create* Prieſtes, and that he cannot *be created* of Prieſts. *The order of Biſhops* (ſayth he) *is the begetter of Fathers, for he begetteth Fathers vnto the Church; but the order of Prieſts cannot beget Fathers: by the regeneration of Baptiſme it begetteth children to the Church, but not Fathers, or Teachers: For howſhoulde he create a Prieſt, who hath not the power of laying on of hands in the election?* And he aunſwereth *Aerius* for his cauels, That his trifling & emulation deceiued him, and that he was ignoraunt of the nature of antique hiſtories. *For that when the preaching of the word was but a new thing, the holy Apoſtle writ according to the ſtate of the thing, as it then ſtoode. And therefore where there were*

Biſhops

Bishops appoynted, he wrote to Bishops and Deacons: (neyther could the Apostles doe all at once. But they had present vse of Priests & Deacons: For by those two all Ecclesiasticall functions are to be performed) But where there were not any found worthy a Bishopricke, there the place was voyd of a Bishop, but where neede was, and there were that were worthy, there they placed Bishops. But where as ther were not many, there were not many to be found among them to be made Priests, and therfore they contented themselues with a Bishop onely in that place: But it is not possible, that a Bishop shoulde bee without a Deacon: and the Apostle had an especiall care of that, that he should not be without his Deacons. And thus the Church receyued the fulnes of his functions, according as the conditiõ of time and place did require. For euery thing was not furnished with all things at the first: but in processe of time, such things were prouided as were requisite to the performance of things necessary, &c. These things he confirmeth by the example of *Moyses*, who finished hys common wealth, not all at once, but after a time. But as of old, he should haue taken a wrong course, who to reform the Churche of Israell, would haue taken his patterne from the imperfect, and not composed state thereof: So likewise at this day, they maintayn but too foul an error, that would bring the state of a Church well growen in yeares, backe againe to the swathling clouts. And therefore *Epiphanius* very well inferreth thus: *So likewise* (sayth he) *are those things which are written in the Apostle, vntill the Church be enlarged, vntill it come to her ripe yeares, vntil it be most perfectly preyzed with the ornature of wisedome, by the Father, Son, and holy Ghost.* *Epiphanius* perceyued that there were many things wanting, and that al things were not in theyr perfect temper, & that after a time, one and the same man was not both Priest and Bishop, as it well appeared by that which Saint *Paul* writ to *Timothy*, who was a Bishop: *Against a Priest or Elder receiue no accusation without two or three witnesses*: He sayd not to any Elder; receyue no accusation against a Bishop, &c. *Augustine* in like manner, mightily confirmeth this the censure and sentence of *Epiphanius*, who also mustereth this error of *Aerius* among the mid-ranke of olde confused Heresies.

Hierome

Hierom his opinion confuted.

Chap. XXII.

THat which is obiected out of *Hierome*, vppon the first Chapter of the Epistle to *Titus*, namely, *that Bishops are greater then Priests, rather by the custome of men, then the constitution of God &c.* I aunswere: that it was the priuate opinion of *Hierome*, consenting with *Aerius*, dissenting from the worde of God. Wherefore we are now diligently to examin his reasons, for that his assertion, least wee might seeme without cause to haue forsaken him.

These therefore are his wordes: *Before that (through the instigation of Satan) there were parts taking in the Church, and the people sayd, I holde of* Paul, *I of* Apollo, *I of* Cephas, *the Churches were gouerned by the common consent of Eldres: but after that once euery man thought those that he baptised, were his owne, and not Christs: it was decreede throughout the whole worlde, that one chosen from among the* Priests *should be placed ouer the rest, vnto whome the whole care of the Church should appertaine, and by whom al occasion of Scisme should be taken away, &c.* That here he saith, how that at the beginning, the Churches were gouerned by the *common counsell of the Elders*: I will not greatly stand with him: and yet that proueth not, that the Bishops were not afterwards preferred by the *Lord his institution*. For then might we not as well say and with as good reason; that the Elders thēselues, and the Doctors which the Apostles created, were not according to the Lord his institution, because at the first the Church was gouerned of the Apostles without *Elders* or *Deacons*, when as yet there were neyther *Elders* nor *Deacons*. But that the Apostles themselues gouerned the Churches by themselues (and some other theyr coadiutors) before there were any Elders, there is no man but knoweth,

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or may learne to know out of the Epiſtle to *Titus*. And likewiſe, whoſoeuer is of any iudgement (or hath not his iudgement blinded) may eaſely gather of the thing it ſelfe, that in thoſe beginnings, while yet the Churches might bee viſited euer and anone of the Apoſtles themſelues, and theyr aſſociats, ſo long it was not needeful they ſhould annoint any other Biſhops ouer the Churches; the Elders might ſerue the turne: Who alſo (ſo long as there were no other beſides the Apoſtles) might likewiſe be called *Biſhops*. So alſo I confeſſe, that there was a time, when the Churches were gouerned by the *common counſell of the people*, as in *Creete* (before the creation of Elders) and at *Corinth*, and at *Rome*: which afterwards hauing theyr Elders (as at *Philipos* and at *Epheſus*) were then ruled by their *more ſacred counſel*; but yet vnder the care and ouerſight of the *Apoſtles* and *Euangeliſts*. Wherfore hitherto it followeth not of all this, that the Apoſtles (as God afforded able men) did not prefer ouer ſeueral Churches ſeuerall Biſhops, & them ouer the other Elders; that they ſucceeding in place of the Apoſtles, might performe thoſe very ſame things, which the Apoſtles them ſelues would, if they could eyther haue lined alwayes, or haue been euery where reſident. But in deede, what need had they of Biſhops, ſo lõg as the Apoſtles themſelues diſcharged the duty of Biſhops? And yet when as in the whole world, the number of Churches did daily increaſe, ſo that the Apoſtles could not ſtay in one place, nor goe to all places: of force (and as ſoone as neede was) they created *Biſhops*, vnto whome they committed that charge (as were *Titus* and *Timothy* and many other) no doubt with the ſame power, and according to the ſame diuine inſtitution of God, by the which before they created Elders.

But that *Hierom* ſaith, how that Biſhops became greater then Elders, *of cuſtome* rather then of any *diuine inſtitution*; it hath no ſemblaunce of truth. Which challenge I make good vppon him, firſt from the time, when he ſaith this cuſtome began. *Before* (ſayth he) *through the inſtigation of the diuell they began to make ſects in the Church, and it was ſayd among the people;*

I holde of Paul, *I of* Apollo, *I of* Cephas, *the Churches were ruled by the common counsell of Elders, &c.* But now those factions began vnder the Apostles; and therefore, that custome began in good time, and the Apostles themselues for the auoyding of scisme altered (if not abrogated) the Lord his institution. The which (me thinks) were more then absurde to say. Our Sauiour no doubt, who is the wisedome of his father, knew much better then the Apostles, what was needfull and commodious for the preuenting of scisme. Whome as it did not beseeme, to seeme more wise then their master; so was it not theyr partes, for the default of one Church, to alter Gods institution. Againe how knewe *Hierome*, that before those scismes brake foorth, the Church of Corinth had theyr *Elders*, by whose councell they were ruled? It is more likely by *Paul* his Epistles (all circumstances considered) that they had as then none especiall and peculiar *Elders*.

If any man come in and say, that these thinges happened after the Apostles time, and that *Hierome* did not so much respect the Church of Corinth, as diuerse others (and therefore speaketh not of Corinth, but of the people) who were fallen into diuerse scismes; I come vppon him againe, and tell him, it is not enough for him to say so, but it must bee proued out of approued Historie, what those scisms were, and how, and where, and when they began; and how from that time, this foresayd custome began. We read in the *Reuelation* of seuen Angels, the Prelates of seuen Churches, of the which one was *Ephesus*, the which (as it is manifest) had many *Bishops* before that time (as were also at *Philippos*) all which, as I haue shewed, were *Elders* also.

I say therefore, that in the originall of the Church, there was a time, when they had nor Elders, nor Bishops, besides the Apostles themselues, the Euangelists and theyr fellow-laborers: (as in Creete) (for the beginnings of all were alike.) Shall wee therefore say, that those Elders were set ouer the Church of custome, not of any diuine constitution, because the Churches at the first, vnder the Apostles gouerned theselues

selues without Elders? or, that after they had abused that their popular kinde of gouernaunce, that thereupon the gouernment was committed to the councell of Elders, of *custome*?

Moreouer if this argument were good, we might argue in like manner, against the institution of Deacons, and say they were not ordained according to any *diuine institution*, because that in the beginning there were none of that order: namely, so long as the faithful were of one hart, & one soule, and no man said, the things he possessed were his owne: but after that *through the instigation of Satan*, the Grecks began to mutiny *against the Hebrews*: For the auoiding of contention there were some chosen to be *Deacons* among them: & therfore ordained *of custome*, not of any diuine institution; the which how wekely it followeth, he is but a weke man that cannot well iudge. For albeit the Apostles alledge both other secundary causes, yet (it is most certaine) the creation of Deacons did chiefly begin of that. And therefore I say in like manner, that albeit I should confesse, that the first occasion of creating one *Bishop*, ouer & aboue the rest of the Elders, was by *reason of schisme*, notwithstanding it therfore followeth not, that it was done for that cause onely, or that it was not done of any diuine institution. But the occasion of creation of Bishops alledged by *Hieron*, is a coniecture but too vncertain, & grounded vpon no likelihood of reason, that for the offence of one Church, the Apostles (contrary to the *Lord his institution*) should place one Bishop ouer al the Churches, which had not offended, & that throughout the whole world: This were very hard. Neyther doe wee read at any time, that the Elders of the Church of Corinth gaue the occasion of this schisme, but that it was taken of the people by reason of that opinion they had of their Pastors and Elders, by whome they were eyther baptized, or brought to the faith. But for men to swell in the vanity of their humors, with an ouer-puised conceyt of their Teachers, as also of their parents, and place of their nativity, and such like singularities, it is (as you know) a ordinary thing among men.

And yet they, for whoſe ſake this ſciſme was ſet abroache at Corinth, were not at Corinth, ſo that, for the auoyding of this ſciſme, the *Elders* which were to be ſet in ſom better order vnder one Biſhop, were *Paul* himſelfe, & *Apollos* and *Cephas*, and ſuch diſordered fellowes, by whome the people were drawen to ſuch a ſingularity.

Without doubt, me thinks this was a vayne motion, and an idle conceite of *Hierome*, as is alſo that which he addeth of a *decree* made throughout the whole world. Good now, let me aske him this queſtion: When, or of whom that *decree* could be made? or at leaſt wiſe how, or by what poſſible means ſo generall a conſent could be obtained, agaynſt the will of the Lorde in the firſt ordinaunce of Elders. For preſently in all the Churches throughout the whole worlde, Biſhops were aboue Elders, both in honour and authority: That bleſſed *Paul* would change the Lord his own inſtitutitutiō; or if he would, that he could, it is not likely. The other Apoſtles, diſperſed throughout diuers regions, were ignorant of thoſe thinges which were done at Corinth, ſo that they cannot be ſuſpected to haue giuen theyr voyces to the ratifying of this decree. But that we may imagin, that this ſciſme at Corinth came to theyr knowledge at the length; & that, after ſome miraculous manner they all met together from diuerſe foreine and the fartheſt partes in the worlde (I ſay) to imagin all this; yet can any man euer imagine, that for the auoyding of this one ſciſme, they all would conſpire together for the ouerthrow of the Lord his owne inſtitutiō? And much leſſe could this be done after the Apoſtles time, that all Churches ſhould aſſemble and conſent, to alter and exautorate that which was both ordayned of the Lord, and deliuered of the Apoſtles: At the leaſt ſome of them would haue ſtill receyued the *firſt inſtitution*.

But of the *antiquity* of this cuſtome, we will call *Hierome* himſelfe for a witnes: and we ſhall finde him, not onely in this place, but alſo in his Epiſtle to *Euagrius*. *At Alexandria* (ſayth he) *euen to Heraclas & Dioniſius, Biſhops, the Elders choſe one from among themſelues, and placed him in a higher degree, and named*

named him their Bishop: In like manner, as if an armie should name them an Emperour. And yet by the way, I would not the people should here be deceaued, & thinke by these words of *Hierome*, that the Elders alwaies placed one of their *owne companie* ouer them. There are innumerable examples, where the Elders being discarded, the people and the cleargie, haue elected either Deacons, or some others, which were not reputed among the cleargie. By the which also it may appeare, that the churches were not acquainted at all with that generall decree, or that they had any such regard therof in their elections of Bishops, that they must alwaies choose from among their Elders, their ordinarie Bishop. Yet be it so: and let vs yeeld thus much to *Hierome*, that there was such a decree made: then must wee needes say, that either they made the same, contrary vnto the Lord his institution, and so wee must also say, that al those fathers, & al their councels shamefully erred, (which wee cannot saye they did in anye other thing, and we haue shewed they could not do in this) or els we must say, that they made it in a thing indifferent, neither with the institution of God, nor against it, but in the meere power and sole disposing of them, from whome it proceeded: And then what are we, (sillie men) that we should once dare to condemne that decree, vnto the which all Christendome did condescend? Wherefore, (as before) I now againe inferre, that this censure was but the priuate conceit of *Hierome*, repugnaunt to the generall iudgement of all the fathers, which either went before him, or liued after him. And therefore, when as he knew full wel, that it would be obiected against him, that this was but his bare censure, not the sentence of the holy Scripture, he assaieth to make good the same with scripture, and therupon he first pawneth *Paul* his Epistle to the Philippians, in the which hee greeteth the Byshops & Deacons of that church: as also the 20. of the Acts, and the 1. of Titus, where they which were Elders, are called Bishops. To the which places, before I make any further answer, it shal not be amisse to heare what *Theodoret* saith of this matter: he expounding this place of *Paul*, writeth thus: *they*

call Bishops, Elders, *for that at that time, they had both the names, as it well appeareth in the 20. of the Acts, and the 1. to* Titus: *For with Bishops he ioyneth Deacons, when he had made no mention of elders: neither could it otherwise be, that there should be many Bishops the Pastors of one citty: by which means it commeth to passe, that they were the Elders of one cittie, whom he calleth Bishops.* But in this Epistle hee calleth the blessed *Epaphrodite* their *Apostle*, for hee saith, *your Apostle and my companion in labour. So that he manifestly sheweth, that he had the dispensation of a Bishop committed to him, when he had the denomination of an Apostle.* Thus much *Theodoret*. Now you shal vnderstand, that the error of *Hierom* and *Aerius*, grew of the not different and confused vse of these titles, (a Bishop and an Elder) as they were then in vse. But when as the same thing befalleth the title of an Apostle also: is it not strange, that they should rather erre in the one, then the other? For where as Barnabas, Epaphroditus, and manie others are called Apostles; yet no man thereby euer thought, that there was no difference betweene them and the twelue Apostles: but because the history of the calling of the twelue Apostles, (and those other, which were likewise called Apostles,) is better knowen vnto them, and more familiar with them, then is that of the Elders and Bishops, (so commonlie called:) therefore this whole matter seemeth inuolued in more darke and thicke mistes of obscuritie, vnto such as are not expert in searching out hidden and vnknowen histories in the acts and monuments of the Apostles? For by reason of the interchangeable communitie of names, they think not that there is any difference, (or conceiue not what it is) between those distinct persons, which are called by names not distinct. As for exemple, this name (*Apostle*) would haue deceiued him fowly, that should haue gone about to haue equaled all of this name with the twelue Apostles; & so stands the case also with the name of Bishops, for that it is in danger to deceiue (if it doe not danngerously deceiue) those, which indistinctly apply that one name, to the two degrees of Elders. Wherfore they must know, that the same name is not alwaies of the same nature, and many times one word is

significant

significant as well for the general, as the particuler. And this must we conceiue of this word *Elder*, that in the capacity of his signification are indifferently intertained all degrees of Pastors, so that the Apostles themselues may generally be called Elders, when as properly the lowest degree of Pastors is best knowen, and most fitly called by that name. Besides all this, there is in many wordes an Etimology, or proper interpretation, according to the which also it so falleth out, that many times, diuerse names haue the same vse; by which meanes, not onely Elders, but Apostles also may be deriued into the same name of Bishops. This may very easily bee exemplified in ciuill things and names, where we may wel perceiue the like vse of no lesse titles, (as *Dukes*, *Earles*, *Knights*, *Lordes* and *Barons*:) all which titles are giuen to many, which differ much in honour and dignitie: neither is it any new or insolent thing, for one mightie King to haue many meaner Kinges vnder him of his name, but not of his power. The like wee may say of Dukes, who haue also vnder them other Dukes, of whome they receiue due fealtie and homage: and some Earls also, (as the *Count Palatine*, of *Rhene*, & *Flanders*) are Lords also ouer other Earles. What should I speake of Knights, Lords, & Barons, which vnder the same titles, haue not the same tipe of honor or autority. He would be laughed to scorne of very children for his labour, that should inferre an equality of their callings, from the qualitie of that they are called. I, but (will some say,) there is not that reason of the Ecclesiasticke ministerie, and the ciuill policy. I also tell them, that I doe not compare office with office, but name with name: that all the world may see, how childish a reason it is, for the community of names and titles, to take away the diuersity of things & persons. Albeit there be some new writers of this age, who hold opinion, that the presidency of on ouer many elders, is to be abolished, as a thing that hath preuailed in the church of custom, & vpon the curtesie of mē only, & that against the groūded verity of gods sacred constitution; yet for al that, the vniuersal consent of al churches in the world, consorting with gods word, shal further

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uaile with me, then the opinion male-content of the heretik *Aerius*, or the misconceited iudgement of *Hierome* alone, hauing lost himselfe in the ambiguity of doutful words, & not foūd out the antiquity of the first age of the church. For this is manifest out of the word of God, that in the time of *Iohn* the Apostle, those 7. Cathedral Churches of *Asia* had their seuen Bishops, and they imposed ouer them by a certaine diuine, not any humaine ordinaunce. For when as the holie Ghost there conceileth nothing, in the which, either the Angels themselues, or they which were vnder there gouernement, had offended: he would neuer haue passed ouer without iust reprehension so insolent and ambitious an innouation, (for so it seemeth vnto some) as then but newly subborned, and boldly brought forth into the church of God, and that confronting the flat ordinaunce of God himselfe. No doubt, those so famous and renowmed Churches had many Elders, and happely a colledge of Elders: and yet the defaults of those churches, were not laid vppon the many Elders, but hee calleth vpon the seuerall and principall Elder of euery particular church: whose autority in the church gouernment, vnlesse it had bene somewhat more then ordinarie, they alone should neuer haue borne the blame of that function not well performed.

A certaine writer of this age goeth about to defend, or at least to excuse this heresie, (or error if you had so rather) of *Aerius*: but his reasons with the which hee would doe it are so slanderous, scandalous, and reprochfull against the councels, and against the fathers, as of truth I am altogether ashamed of them. *Aerius*, like a good honest fellowe, is excused, & the fathers (poore soules) or openly accused of no small faults, ambition and tyranny: who seeing he bringeth nothing woorth any thing, besides that we haue before touched out of *Hierome*, I will not vouchsafe his cauils the confuting. How much more christian-like, & modestly hath that most famous man, and thrise reuerend father *Zanchius*, (neuer sufficiently renowmed for his rare learning and religion) how much more like a good christian, hath he written

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in his *Confeſsion*, what hee thought concerning the controuerſie? Theſe are his wordes: *My faith is grounded chiefly and ſimply vpon the word of God, and then ſomewhat alſo vpon the common conſent of the whole Catholike Church; if ſo bee it repugne not the ſacred writ. For I doe beleeue, that what things were concluded and receiued of the holie Fathers, aſſembled in the name of the Lord, by a common conſent of all, without anie contradiction to the holie ſcriptures, that thoſe things alſo (althogh not of like authoritie with the ſcripture) are of the holy Ghoſt. Hence it commeth, that whatſoeuer things are of this ſort, I neuer will, nor dare with a ſafe conſcience diſallow them. But what one thing is more certaine, out of hiſtories, out of Councels, out of the writings of all the Fathers, then that thoſe orders of Miniſters (of the which we haue ſpoken) were receyued and eſtabliſhed in the Church by the common conſent of the whole Chriſtian common-wealth? And who am I, that what the whole Church hath allowed, I alone ſhould diſallowe? Neither yet haue all the learned men of our time dared to diſallow them, for that indeed they knew, that both theſe things were lawfull in the Church, alſo that they all were ordeined and performed of a godly religion, and to good ends, for the good of the elect. Beſides that, reaſon was, I ſhould haue regard of thoſe Churches alſo, the which although they haue imbraced the Goſpell, yet they retaine their Biſhops, both in deed and name. And what ſhall wee ſay of the Churches of the Proteſtants alſo, where they want not their Biſhops and Arch-biſhops in deed, whom (hauing caſt their good Greeke names, into bad Latine) they call Superintendentes, and generall Superintendentes? But where alſo, nor thoſe good old Greeke, nor theſe bad Latin names are in vſe, there notwithſtanding are commonly certaine priuate & eſpecial men, in whoſe hands, in a maner, is all the authoritie. Wherfore now the controuerſie is concerning names; but ſeeing we doe agree in deed, what doe we contend about names? In the mean while, as I haue not diſalowed the Fathers in this matter which is nowe in queſtion; ſo alſo I cannot but loue the zeale of our brethren, who therefore were out of loue with thoſe names, becauſe they feared, leaſt with the olde names, the olde ambition alſo and tyrannie ſhould bee called in againe, to the ruine of Churches.* Thus grauely diuineth that reuerend olde *Zanchius*: with whom I could ioyne ma-

nie more teſtimonies (if it were needfull) of the beſt writers of our time, to confirme this matter: who are either wholie of our opinion, or very ſparingly of the contrary. But for this time lonely *Zanchius* ſhal ſtand for the reſt, leaſt I ſhould ouercharge this ſmal volume with a multitude of witneſſes

Of one Biſhop in one Dioceſſe.
Chap. XXIIII.

NOw that we haue proued that gouernement of the Church to be of God, in the which Paſtors are ſubiect to Paſtors, and Elders ſuppliant to their Biſhops: we are in the ſequele of this our diſcourſe, to ſee and examine, *Whether one Church or dioceſſe is not capiable of two or more Biſhops, at the ſame time, of the ſame tipe and authoritie.* True it is, that the Church of Hieruſalem had the twelue Apoſtles, the ſeuentie two Diſciples, with the Prophets, their Biſhops: neither are examples wanting of diuers churches, which haue had ioyntly together diuers Biſhops. *Epiphanius* writing againſt the Arrian hereſie, falling into ſome mention of the Church of *Alexandria*, ſeemeth to intimate thus much; That in that age there was this cuſtome in diuers Churches, that they might haue two Biſhops at once, when as notwithſtanding in the church of *Alexandria*, he affirmeth there was no ſuch cuſtome.

To the which, I thus anſwer: Firſt, that the twelue Apoſtles, & the reſt, remained at Hieruſalem for a certaine time, but they were appointed Biſhops & Teachers, not for that one Cittie onely, but for the whole world. Now for the cuſtome of certaine Citties, which at one time had their *two biſhops*; what manner cuſtome that was, how rare & extraordinarie it was, we may ſufficiently learne by that one election of *Auguſtine*, who was made Biſhop, while *Valerius* Biſhop of *Hippon* yet liued. The which thing was done, as extraordinarie, ſo contrary to the decree of the *Nicene* councel. But what rule ſo general, that ſuffereth no exception? It is no ſin

I confeſſe, for one Church to haue many Paſtors of equall power, but whether it be conuenient it ſhould bee ſo, experience will teach. Indeed of old, the Biſhops being of great yeares, ſometimes would name their ſucceſſor, and aſſume a fellow-laborer in office with them, and that, partly to preuent the tumults which commonly infeſted their elections: and partly alſo, becauſe ſometimes the Biſhops being diſabled by age & ſicknes, were not ſufficing to diſcharge their duties in their owne perſons: for which cauſe it was lawfull for the new Elect to ſupply the aged his place, & ſit together in the ſame chaire. As for *Valerius* the Biſhop of *Hippon*, hee beeing moued thereunto by the example of foreine Churches, got *Auguſtine* with much adoe to be ioyned with him: but how vnwillingly hee vndertooke that place, albeit hee were importuned therunto, as well by the praiers, as by the preſidents of others, he expreſſely teſtifieth in his 110. Epiſtle; Wherein are reported what things were done at the aſſignement of *Eradius* Prieſt, to ſucceede *Auguſtine* in his Biſhoprike, as they were taken by the notarie, the people conſenting and confirming the ſame: to whom hee thus ſpeaketh: *I know that you know* (ſaith he) Eradius *to be a fit man, and worthy of a bishoprike, but I would not there should bee that done by him, that was done to me: but what was done your ſelues can many of you witnes: they onely cannot tel, which either were not as then born, or as yet had not the capacitie to know. While as yet my Father and bishop,* Valerius *of famous memory liued in the flesh, I was ordeined then bishop, and I ſate together with him, the which thing I then knew not that it was inhibited by the Councel of* Nice, *neither did he know. Wherefore, that which was reprehended in me, I would not should be reprehended in my ſonne.* And thus ſaith *Auguſtine.*

Gregorie Nazianzen in an epiſtle to *Gregorie Nyſſen*, writeth of this cuſtome in theſe wordes: *But if anie man contend, that whileſt one Biſhop is liuing, an other ought to bee elected, let him knowe that theſe thinges are of no force againſt vs. For it is manifeſt and apparant vnto all the worlde, that wee are preſident, not onelie at* Naziantz, *but alſo at* Soſrie, *and that (ſetting apart the reuerence of our auncient Fathers and graue Doctors,*

and thoſe that laboured the ſame of vs with their vrgent prayers) we tooke vpon vs that preſidencie as ſtraungers. Thus ſaith *Nazianzene*. By the which we may vnderſtand, how inſolent and extraordinarie a thing it was, that one Church ſhould haue two Biſhops. *Epiphanius* alſo made ſome ſmall mention of this cuſtome, that he might ſhew the cauſe, why *Athanaſius* did not immediately ſucceed *Alexander*, ſeeing hee was deputed thereunto by *Alexander*; namely, for that the cuſtome of the Church of *Alexandria* did not permit, that hee ſhould be choſen Biſhop, while their Biſhop yet liued. Moſt true it is indeed, that both the Biſhops and the people were perſwaded of this, That one Church did admit but one Biſhop: when it was otherwiſe, Neceſsitie which hath no lawe did excuſe it. When *Conſtantius*, at the requeſt of certaine noble Matrons, had called Biſhop *Liberius* from exile, and would haue had him to gouerne the Church of Rome together with *Fœlix*, who was then ſurrogate and ſubſtitute in his place: the people hearing the Emperours letters, and ſcorning the contents, thundred together with one voice; *One God, one Chriſt, and one Biſhop.* *Cyprian* alſo writing of the lawfull election of *Cornelius*: *Seeing that after the firſt* (ſaith he) *there cannot bee a ſecond; whoſoeuer is made after one* (*who ought to be one and alone*) *he is now no more ſecond, but none at all.* like manner *Ignatius*, who was in the age before *Cyprian*, and is accounted the ſecond, or third Biſhop of *Antioch*, after the Apoſtles; reducing the gifts of the onely one God, to an vnitie in the Church, writeth thus; *There is* one *fleſh of the Lord Ieſus*, one *bloud that was ſhed for vs, alſo* one *bread which is broken to vs all, and* one *cuppe which is giuen to vs all, there is* one *Altar for the whole Church, and there is* one *biſhop with the companie of Elders.*

The Fathers reaſon was this: becauſe God would (whoſe will is a law to vs) that there ſhould bee but *one high Prieſt* in the old Teſtament: with whome (ſo long as he liued) no other might bee ſurcharged: vnleſſe haplie hee had defiled himſelfe with anie notorious crime, or by chaunce had fallen into ſome vncleane diſeaſe, which might make him eyther

ther vnapt, or vnable to perform his ſacred dutie. The which although it contained in it a ſecrete myſterie, of the which the Church at this day retaineth no preſent memorie: yet the policie of this myſterie (which by no meanes is to be diuorſed from it) ought not to be controlled of any that profeſſe Chriſtianitie.

If anie man heere ſuppoſe, that by this reaſon the tyrannie of the Biſhop of Rome may bee maintained: to him I ſay, that he taketh the matter amiſſe: For there is great odds betweene a paſtoral prefecture ouer one region, and an emperiall prerogatiue ouer the whole world. So ample and auguſtious is that his ſupreme empire and ſuperlatiue degree in the Church, as that it dilateth it ſelfe ouer all Chriſtian churches whereſoeuer, throughout the whole world; but was the whole world at anie time demiſed to anie one Apoſtle? *Peter* had the ſea Apoſtolike ouer the circumciſion, and *Paule* ouer the vncircumciſed: but yet ſo, as they excluded not their compeers and copartners in the ſame power with them. For *Iames* alſo was the Apoſtle of the Iewes, which liued at Hieruſalem, and in all Iudea: but *Peter* ouer thoſe which were diſperſed among the Gentiles onely. So likewiſe *Paule* limited his ſea Apoſtolike among the Greeks of Aſia and Europe, leauing in the meane while other prouinces for other Apoſtles. If in like manner the Biſhop of Rome had contented and conteined himſelf within the precincts of his owne territorie, how ſhould any man haue accuſed him of any impious or vſurped tyrannie?

Againe, for as much as it appeareth, that the Apoſtolike traditiõ (ſo much as concerneth the regiment of the church and the outward policie thereof) was taken of our Sauiour, and afterwards alſo of the Apoſtles, from out of the old Teſtament; (ſo far forth as the condition of time and place, & the ſtate of the people and perſons might permit) can there bee any errour in this, if the Fathers (their ſucceſſors) ſeeme in like manner to borrowe from the ſame foundation, certaine politike conſtitutions, for the edifiyng of the Church? Vpon this occaſion *Hierome* thus writeth to *Euagrius*: *And*

in that we knowe, that the Apoſtolike traditions were taken out of the old Teſtament: that which Aaron *and his ſons, and the Leuites were in the Temple, the ſame are the Biſhops, Elders, and Deacons, in the Church.*

I conclude therefore, that ouer euery ſeuerall prouince or precinct (which make as it were one Cittie) they verie well and worthily placed ſeuerall Biſhops; and likewiſe ouer euery whole cuntry or regió, either Patriarchs, or Archbiſhops, or Primates, or Metrapolitanes (call them as you pleaſe) & moreouer that this was done of the antique Coũcels & Fathers, to ſingular purpoſe, & well conſorting with Gods holy ordinance. With the which that I may at the laſt determine this controuerſie: of thoſe things which I haue already declared and concluded, as well of the offices of the Goſpell (which were ordeined of the Lord, and left vnto the Church by his Apoſtles) as alſo of the vniforme conſent of the Councels, and continuall practiſe of the Church in all ages, it ſhalbe eaſie for all men to know, That that gouernment is not of man, or from man, in the which the Elders ar ſubiect to their elder Biſhops, & the Biſhops to their higher Patriarchs, & Metropolitanes; but contrarywiſe, that the ſame is diuine, and ordeined of God, and that as well in the old, as the new Teſtament.

Of the names of Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, & Metropolitans.

Chap. XXV.

HAuing laid downe my reaſons and proofes, by the which I am taught to diſſent from them, vnto whom in other things I yeeld not a litle; I take it now time to anſwere the curſing and curſed ſlanders of ſome, who caſting aſide the modeſtie of ciuill Chriſtians, and neglecting the mediocritie of all learned writers, do teare (like mad dogs) and torment the moſt reuerend names and religious functions of Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Patriarches & Metropolitans, as pampred and proud titles, antichriſtian & prophane. But wil you

heare the reaſons of vnreaſonable men? They alledge, that the Apoſtle *Paul* in recounting the degrees of the Miniſters of the Goſpell (in his Epiſtle to the Epheſians the 4. chap.) maketh no mention of Patriarches & Archbiſhops. To the which, before I goe any further, I make them this anſwere: That thoſe offices are there compriſed and contained in the names of *Apoſtles* & *Euangeliſts*; and in the 12. to the Rom. verſe 8. in the word (προϊσταμενος) *Ruler*, (or *he that ruleth*;) and in the firſt to the Corinthians the 12. chap. and 28. verſe, in the worde (κυβερνησεις) *gouernors*: by all which tearmes and titles, the ſacred order of ſuperior Paſtors are vnderſtoode. But that the aforeſaid offices of Apoſtles & Euangeliſts are perpetuall, wee haue already proued, and it may alſo ſufficiently appeare by the ſequele of that enumeration of thoſe offices; namely, when he ſetteth down to what end our Sauiour gaue to the Church, ſome *Apoſtles*, and other *Euangeliſts*. Was it not *for the work of the Miniſtery, for the edification of the body of Chriſt?* So that, ſo long as the Church is to be edified, ſo long thoſe offices are to be continued in the Church which are there conteined. If the Church could haue beene edified without them, they ſhould neuer haue ben ordeined in the Church. But againe, that part of them are thought to be temporal, & part particular; that thought is ouerthrown by the onely end of that for the which they were ordeined; which end is to be ſought for continually of all the faithful euen vntill the comming of the Lord. For are they not ſtill to edifie by theſe offices, & to grow together into one myſtical body of Chriſt? Now albeit the office of biſhops & archbiſhops, primates, & patriarchs, doth not extend it ſelfe ſo far as did the office of the twelue Apoſtles: (neither are they inriched with the like treaſure or meaſure of the holy Ghoſt) yet are wee to conſider that this difference is in the qualitie not in the quidditie of the ſame function: in the meaſure, not in the matter of their commiſſion. And therfore, whom at this day we call Biſhops & Archbiſhops, *Paul* the Apoſtle called Apoſtles; for that (as we haue ſaid) they are ioyned in the ſame combinatiõ, & made partakers of that cõmiſsion.

And

And for this cause the calling of Archbishops & Patriarchs, hath beene alwaies called, and is yet to be accounted *Apostolike* in all places.

Yet, for as much as these names and titles, doe seeme in some mens eyes, to be puffed vp with the tumors of pride and ambition, let vs take a further view of those principall obiects, and friuolous obiections, by the which they are cast into this no lesse straunge then strong conception. Their first argument is forced from the composition of the Greek words ἀρχὴ, and ἄρχων, which (as they take it) signifieth that principalitie and power, which is proper to the ciuill Magistrate only, impertinent to that modestie and simplicitie, which the doctrine of the Gospel requireth of a Pastor. To the which, they also adde the sentence of the Councell of *Carthage*, which forbad anie Bishoppe to bee called Prince of the Priests; The wordes of the Canon are these: Ὡςτε τὸν περὶ τὰς καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λεγέσθω ἀρχιερεὺς, ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον τι πέρ, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς περὶ τὰς καθέδρας. The which *Gratian* in his ninetie nine distinction translateth thus: *The Bishop of the chiefe place shall not be called prince of the Priestes, or high Priest, or any other such thing, but onely, Bishop of the chiefe place.* Besides all this (say they) the word *Archbishop* differeth nothing from ihe Greeke word ἀρχιποίμην (*Prince of Pastors*:) the which name or title, seeing it is only proper to Christ alone we cannot see, how he should bee excused of heinous sacrilege, that doth any way vsurpe the same. And therefore all such names are to be cast ouer bord, and vtterly to be exiled the Church of Christ. Neither is the arguing of these names to be taken for trifling, when as they seem so greatly to derogate from the name of Christ. And last of all, those names which Antichrist himselfe, or the spirit of Antichrist, hath either inuented, or inuested into the Church, are to bee auoyded: but that Antichrist was the forger of these titles, it is a plaine case, and therefore to be auoided.

To that, I answer: That the sence & true meaning of these names & titles by way of composition, with the worde ἀρχὴ, conteineth nothing in it, eyther arrogant for ambition, or

for

for cuſtome inſolent. For I will teach them, (if they bee to learne) that the greeke worde ἀρχων, doth not onely ſignifie *Principality* and *Magiſtracie*, but alſo the firſt, the beginning and original cauſe of any thing: and beſides this, that in compoſition it foloweth the nature of that word, with the which it is compounded: and ſo, ſeeing the name of a Biſhop doth ſignifie of it ſelfe, and in his owne nature nothing that is inſolent or ambitious, take the name *Archbiſhoppe* which way you wil, it cannot any waies ſound of any vaine or vain-glorious ſenſe: as it plainely appeareth in other wordes of like compoſition, as *Architectos*, *Archiatros*, *Architriclinus*, *Archibubulcus*, which ſignifie a Maiſter-worke-man, a Arch-phiſition, a Gentleman-vſher, a chiefe Herdſ-man, and ſuch like. By all which we may manifeſtly ſee, that the name of *Biſhop*, being in nature good, the name of *Archbishop* cannot be in compoſition euill: ſeeing that thereby it ſignifieth rather the firſt and chiefe Biſhop, then the Lord and Prince of Biſhops. Albeit I would not, (nor need I) greatly ſticke with him for the name of *Prince* neither, were it in vſe with vs, as in ſenſe it is with the Latines, onely for a chiefe and principall man. But now ſeeing that name is aduanced to a more roiall and imperiall ſenſe, from hence-forth, I will either not vſe it, or vſe it verie thriftely.

The like may wee ſay of the word ἀρχων, that among good Grecians, it doth not alwaies ſignifie a *Magiſtrate*, or a man in authority, but many times alſo it ſtandeth for the firſt author, or originall cauſe of any thing. So that *Patriarche*, doth no more ſignifie him which gouerneth in the Magiſtracy, or exerciſeth authoritie ouer others, then doth *Hereſiarch*, who is ſo called, for that hee is the firſt brother and brocher of that hereſie, not that hee exerciſeth anye dominion ouer the rank kamiel of that poyſonous rable. In very deed, a *Patriark* ſignifieth the *firſt parent* of any people or offſpring: in which ſence alſo the ſame word is deriued to our vſe, to ſignifie an *Archbiſhop*; becauſe that he among the other Biſhops (which are counted Fathers) is as it were the *Graundfather*: and that thereby alſo wee might further conceiue, that the gouerne-

ment he hath ouer others, is meere father-like, not tyrannik So that for modeſty ſake wer they called, rather Archbiſhops and Patriarkes, then ἐξαρχοι τῶν ἱερέων (*Princes of the Prieſts*) that all the world might know, that their power ouer their brethren, and fellow-biſhoppes, was no other, then that which *Paule* had ouer *Titus* and *Timothy*, and they ouer others. And thus at the laſt it may appear at the ful, that here is no name giuen to the Biſhop of the chief place, which was forbidden by the *Carthaginian* Canon: ſeeing that a Patriarke & Archbiſhop in their proper ſenſe, doe ſignifie no other then the *chief Biſhop*: who if he be called *Prince* of the Biſhops, among them which write more pure Latine, no man ought to bee agreeued therfore: for that (as I haue alredy noted) the word *Prince* among them, is no more but as *principall* and *chiefe* among vs. And this is that which *Ambroſe* hath written vpon the fourth of the *Epheſians*. *In a Biſhop* (ſaith hee) *are all the orders contained, becauſe hee is the chiefe Prieſt, that is, the Prince of Prieſts, and a Prophet, and an Euangeliſt.*

But now againe, that they ſay, the word *Archbiſhop* doth ſignifie the ſame with ἀρχιποίμην in *Peter*, which ſignifieth the *Arch-paſtor*: I can but greatly wonder, and yet not ſufficiently, that any ſuch thing ſhould proceed from men that would bee accounted learned, and linguiſts too. I ſhewed but euen now, what this worde *Archbiſhoppe* ſignified, and what might be made of the worde ἀρχὸς and ἄρχων in compoſition.

Wherefore, ſeeing that in the conſtruction of this word ἀρχιποίμην (as alſo in other wordes) it may bee taken as well for the *firſt* and *chiefe* Paſtor of any people: as for the *chiefe Lord and Prince* of all Paſtours: I ſee no reaſon, why that alſo may not bee giuen to that man, which obtaineth the chiefe place among the Paſtors of any place. But when as it ſignifieth Chriſt, and that for his ſupreame gouernement, which he alone hath ouer all Paſtors, as the Lord of all, both people and Paſtors, the ſenſe is altered, and the caſe: ſo that in that ſenſe, there are none of our Archbiſhops, which in any caſe will ſuffer himſelfe to bee called *Archbiſhop*. Chriſt is called

led ἀρχιποίμην (καθ' ἐξοχήν) the *Archpaſtor*, abſolutely, aboue al compariſon, beyond all exception, without any limitation: when as our *Archbiſhoppes* are not ſo called ſimply and abſolutelie, but ſuch and ſuch Archbiſhops, Archbiſhoppes of this or that ſea, whoſe Suffraganes and Sub-biſhops of ſuch or ſuch a Prouince, are ſufficientlie known: Among whome onely they are accounted the *Primates*, or principall moderators: and ouer whom onely, and not ouer all abſolutely, they are called Archbiſhops.

Wherefore, ſeeing that by this name, is onely ſignified the chiefe and principall Paſtour of ſome one Prouince, it doth no more derogat from the glory of Chriſt, then when wee call other Elders and Biſhops by the name of Paſtors and Doctors: ſeeing that properly Chriſt alone is our Maiſter and Teacher, and indeede that onelye good *Shepheard*, which gaue his life for vs.

In like manner, albeit God and the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, be alſo our Father which is in heauen: yet notwithſtanding, wee may call men alſo our Fathers, and in ſo doing offer God no wrong at all. And therefore, whoſoeuer hee be, that knoweth as well as I can tell him, that theſe names and titles are in ſenſe manifolde, and ambiguous in ſignification, ſo that they may be giuen to diuerſe things in diuerſe reſpectes, and yet holdeth plea in this ſort, hee doth but ſeeme to holde himſelfe play in a ſerious matter, to make an idle ſhewe of his vaine wit, and a ſinfull ſpoyle of the ſimple reader. For my part, hauing reſolued vppon that which before wee haue taught: namely, *That in the regiment of the Church, Biſhoppes were placed ouer Biſhoppes, according vnto God his diuine ordinance and inſtitution*; I cannot ſee howe that methode of Gods diſtinct order, coulde haue beene expreſſed in more apt and fit termes (after the Apoſtles deceaſe) then by theſe reuerend titles of *Patriarks* and *Archbiſhops*.

In the which alſo (ſetting aſide the arrogancy and tyrannie of thoſe which haue abuſed their authority, and doe abuſe)

there is not ſo much ſtate or pride, as ſome preſume.

I but (will ſome ſay,) our Biſhops and Archbiſhops doe entertaine ſecular charges, and inuade ciuill honours, and are imboſt with temporall titles: all the which, how croſly they confront the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and the good meaning of their titles, who ſo blinde as may not ſee it? To this I would anſwere, before I proceed any further: but it is not for this place, neither dooth this queſtion fall into this treatiſe. Wherefore, hereafter I will ſet down what I thinke of this matter, when I come to his proper place.

In the meane while (gentle Reader) ſuppoſe, I here defend not thoſe which now liue, (who whiles they ar in view, are enuied) but thoſe faithfull ſeruants of Chriſt Ieſus, who heereto-fore haue ruled the church with great fruit, before the tyranny of Rome abuſed the Church of God: namely, *Gregory Nazianzen, Gregorie Nyſſen, Baſil* the great, *Athanaſius, Chriſoſtome, Cyprian, Ignatius, Polycarpus, Ambroſe, Auguſtine*, and ſuch like: whoſe liues as they are further from our eies, ſo from our enuye. Theſe cannot I with any good conſcience, doe not you of any conceit condemne of pride, ambition, tyranny, or Anticriſtianiſme, for whome all the world will ſtand vp & witnes, that they were Biſhops, Archbiſhops and Patriarches, and gouerned the churches after a ſinguler maner, and with an eſpeciall power ouer the reſt. If any man thinke hee haue a ſingle gift in theſe thinges, and ſuppoſe he haue the ſpirit of diſcretion, as his familiar (to diſcerne ſpirits) good leaue hath hee, let him vſe it: but let him take heed, his ſpirit of diſcretion proue not the ſpirit of preſumtion. I verely can finde no ſuch ſpirite of Antichriſt in thoſe moſt chriſtian fathers: I find they were men, and had their errors: and yet in this argument, their writings are of greater authority with me, then are they which haue written of the ſame matter in this age, and within our memorie.

But nowe concerning the laſt exception againſt their names (I meane of Archbiſhops.) I anſwere, and deny that they were the inuẽtions of Antichriſt; this firſt, & then alſo, that whatſoeuer was inuented, (or is vſurped either) of Antichriſt,

tichriſt is hand ouer head to be reiected of vs; for of neceſſity (a neceſſary pollicy) he deuiſed, rather then inuẽted, ſome good things, that with them he might ouercaſt many bad. So doth Satan many times tranſforme himſelfe into an Angell of light, that he may deceyue without ſuſpect; hee fayneth holines; that he may draw into wickednes: hee defendeth the truth, that he may driue into error. (For he ſhould bewray himſelf too groſſely, if he ſhould teach nothing but leaſings.) But yet, can there bee a more witleſſe concluſion then this, Antichriſt taught this, *ergo* it is falſe? Antichriſt deuiſed this, *ergo* it is naught? vnleſſe it ſhould be interſerted, or at leaſt vnderſtood, that the ſame is contrary alſo to the worde of God. As for example, that which *Peter* was taught of the holy Ghoſt, hee confeſſed with a liuely faith, namely, That Ieſus was the very Chriſt, and the onely ſonne of the liuing God. But now, doth not *Antichriſt* alſo confeſſe the ſame with his mouth? yea whoſoeuer dare deny the ſame, he condemneth to the fagot. Doth he not alſo imbrace the ſacred volumes of Gods holy word? yes and more then that, foraſmuch as the Lord hath taught vs in his word, that we ſhould pray continually, he hath of himſelfe deuiſed, to deuide the whole day in matinges and euen ſong. But now (to come to the poynt) becauſe hee abuſeth vnto ſuperſtition both faſting and prayer, and the holy Bible, and the bleſſed confeſſion of the ſonne of God, ſhall we therfore (all in a fling) renounce theſe thinges? Admit it be his deſire that the miniſtery ſhould be of ſom rec' oning in the world, and that it ſhould be aduanced to no meane degree of honour in the common wealth: And what then? that we may not be like vnto him, ſhal we requite the Miniſters of Chriſt with ſhame for fame, and with ſlaunders for honours? And becauſe he ſeeketh to magnify them without meane, ſhall we ſuffer them to lie ſubiect and abiect among the baſeſt routs of the common meany? If braine-ſicke men vppon a quarelous minde may preſently gaineſay whatſoeuer the Biſhop of Rome hath ſayd, or don: I fear me in the end, they wil in their great haſt ouerrun all chriſtian religion, & leaue

it far behinde them. Wherfore, whoſoeuer ſhall think euery thing forthwith to be reiected, for that eyther the author thereof abuſed the ſame to tyranny, or the Biſhop of Rome inuerted the ſame to ſuperſtition, he is eaſely to be carried with euery ſhallow ſtreame into any deepe error.

What things ſoeuer are in the Church of Rome (that now is) may iuſtly be diſtinguiſhed into three parts: Wherof ther are ſome things that wel conſort with the word of God; and ſome, that do flatly contradict the ſame; but the moſt things are ſuch, as there vſe is; eyther good, or bad: which thinges are called, things *indifferent*. Now, albeit bad men may make a bad vſe of good thinges, yet can they not inuert the nature therof. Baptiſme, the word of God, or whatſoeuer elſe (of that kinde) the Romaniſts haue in vſe, no wiſe man will therefore reiect, as if they were euil, becauſe they haue not vſed thē wel. As for things vtterly euil, becauſe no man at any time vſeth them well, they are vtterly to be reiected of vs, as is all kind of Idolatry, & whatſoeuer doth either vndermine, or ouerthrow the ſound & ſubſtātiall doctrine of truth. But as for things *indifferent*, ſeeing they are ſuch as is he that vſeth them; they are left in our power to vſe them, as time & occaſion ſhal require. An *indifferent* thing is commonly that, whatſoeuer is nor cōdemned, nor commended in the word of God, & is left free to euery mans choiſe, either to vſe, or not vſe: vnles ſome other thing interchaunce, which altereth the vſe of that which otherwiſe was free, by reaſō of the time or place, or the perſon, wher the ſame is in vſe. For my part, I think things mediat & indifferent might better be defined thus: if we ſhall ſay, thoſe thinges are *indifferent*, which by no law, either Gods law or mās law, are bidden, or forbidden. For by the command of him which hath the authority ouer our perſons, the vſe of a thing, which otherwiſe is free, may many waies, & vppon many occaſions be reſtrained, or ouerruled: But of theſe things, in this place, we are not now to diſcourſe at large. Onely thus much I chiefly note, & would haue iuſt notice taken of it, that *indifferent* thinges may bee vſed of vs, although the ſame things haue ben abuſed by the

Biſhop

biſhop of Rome, or any other Antichriſt. Is our liberty to be preiudiced by an other mans religion? ſpecially, where publique authority hath any thing to do in the matter? ſuppoſe it either giueth vs in charge, or putteth vs in choiſe, to vſe thoſe things which the ſuperſtitious haue abuſed: Wherfore whenſoeuer any thing ſhal come in queſtion among vs, that hath bene vſed among the Romaniſts, or other enemies of the truth, it is our part to examine and conſider the matter, as it is in ſelfe, not as it was with them.

There are ſome in England at this day, who take vpon thē more ſowrely, then ſeuerely, againſt outward veſtementes, cap & ſurples, muſicke and organs, and ſuch like rites of the Church: the which, becauſe they were of ſome vſe in the Romane Church, now out vppon them, they are ſacriligious & prophane. In like maner, and with no leſſe modeſty, do they proceede againſt Biſhops & Archbiſhops, their honors and reuenews; Al the which, vnles they could be proued contrary to the word of God, what reaſon is this they bring (and it is al they bring) for the aboliſhing thereof: when they ſay, the author or inuentor therof was Antichriſt? No doubt indifferent things which he abuſed for his tyranny, may be returned to a better vſe, for the good of the Church.

Now, as for contētious natures & ſuch, in whoſe breſts this error hath taken faſt footing, namely, *That the authority of Biſhops is a thing pernitious in it ſelf, and preiudicial to the church*; I know this my aunſwere, as it fitteh not their humors, ſo it ſerueth not their turns. Neither yet will they vouchſafe of that, which I haue ſaid of the natural ſignification of words compound with ἀρχὴ. Wherfore, albeit the plaineſt interpretation of the names of Patriarchs and Archbiſhops like me beſt, yet notwithſtanding I dare ſay thus much further, if we ſhould grāt (that which they ſhal neuer euince) that by force of compoſition a kind of principallity were to be inferred: yet doth it not theruppon follow, that it is therefore a title abhorring from the ſtate of our BB. For let it be lawfull for men to vrge the ſignification of euery ſillable in this ſort, & it ſhal forthwith be vnlawful for any, to be called a monarch,

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or to be inueſted with the title of an Emperour: for why? forſooth, theſe names in theyr proper ſenſe, are common to none, but to God onely. Theſe and ſuch like titles of lawful and neceſſary vſe among vs, muſt vppon this quirk be vtterly aboliſhed: neyther may it be lawfull for vs from henceforth to call our Miniſters (as the Scripture doth) ἡγουμένους or προεστῶτας (*Rectors* or *Rulers*, *Prelates* or *Preſidentes*:) nay we ſhall not be able to auouch the name of *Elders*, becauſe this, and theſe all in ſacred Scripture, are proper to Magiſtrates and Princes, and the Nobles of ſundry prouinces, and and yet for all this we ſee, that Miniſters of the Church are called by theſe names.

Laſt of all, if the authority of the Fathers, may be of any preuail, let vs hear what great dainty they make of the name of *Prince*, in the titles of the cleargy. *Origen* reprehending the clowniſhe ſourenes of ſome Biſhops, writeth thus; *A man may ſee in ſome Churches, (eſpecially in the greateſt Cities) how the* Princes *of the chriſtian people, ſhew no manner affabilitie to any: eſteeming thereof as a thing nothing at all pertaining vnto them, &c.* And aftewards againe: *We ſpeake not theſe thinges as if we meant to diſcharge the Eccleſiaſticall* Principality. In like manner vppon the Epiſtle to the Romanes the thirteenth Chapter. *By the which it appeareth* (ſaith he) *that the Iudges of the world do performe the greateſt part of Gods law. For all the defaults that God would haue puniſhed, he puniſheth not by the Prelates and* Princes *of the Church, but by the Iudges of the worlde.* And vpon the twenty ſeuen Chapter of Numbers, the two and twenty Homily. *Let the* Princes (ſaith hee) *of Churches learne, not to appoynt their ſucceſſors after them, ſuch as are allied vnto them, eyther in affinity of kindred, or conſanguinity of bloud, neyther that they ought to make the* Principality *of Churches hereditary, &c. Ignatius*, no leſſe godly then grauely; *My Son* (ſaith hee) *honour God and the King: and I ſay further, honor God as the author of al things and the owner; and honor the Biſhop as* Prince *of the Prieſts, bearing the image of God, by reaſō of his principality, & the image of Chriſt, by means of his Prieſthood. He that honoreth the Biſhop, ſhall be honored of God, as alſo he that diſhonoreth him,*

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ſhall be punished of God, &c. Beſides many other things in the ſame place to the ſame ſence. The ſame man in an other place. *Therefore* (ſaith he) *let all things be performed among you according to a direct order in Christ: Let Laymen be ſubiect to Deacons, Deacons to Prieſts, Prieſts to Biſhops, the Bishop to Chriſt, as he is alſo to the Father.* Againe to the Church of Antioch. *You Elders feede the flocke which is committed vnto you, vntill God manifeſt him, which shal* reign *ouer you: For I am now ſacrificed: that I may gaine Chriſt, &c.* By which words, the holy Martyr hath ſufficiently teſtified the authority of a Biſhop ouer the reſt of the Elders.

Doubtleſſe in auncient time, the authority of Biſhops was great in the Church, theyr reuerence great, and theyr fauour great among the people: the which of al other things made moſt for the benefit and increaſe of the Church. Euen as in the common wealth, the fauour of the Magiſtrats and authority is beneficiall to the people, ſo likewiſe of Biſhops in the Church. And therefore for good cauſe thought *Hierome*, that the welfare of the Church did depend of the honour of the chiefe Prieſt &c. Neyther in deed is this the leaſt ſlight of Satan, when he laboreth to bring the prelats of the Church into contempt, for by that meanes he thinketh to imbecil the doctrine of fayth, and to bring that into ſuſpect, that ſo at the laſt he might (if poſſible he could) bring an vtter ruine, and a ruined ouerture to the whole ſtate of the Church. To which purpoſe whoſoeuer they be, that make themſelues the Diuell his ſtipendaries, vnder what colour ſo euer they doe it, they diſcerue but badly, not onely of the whole Church, but alſo of the common wealth. *That which a rebell is in the ſtate, the ſame is a ſciſmaticke in the Church.*

How iuſt cauſe the aduerſe part here in England hath, to bring theyr Biſhops into the obloquy and enuy of the people, it ſmally cõcerneth me: I ſet not as arbiter between both parts. But this I ſay; that the ſame things which betideth the Biſhops here in England, doth vſually befall all the beſt of the Miniſtery in Holland alſo, who are in no leſſe enuy with the people there, then our Biſhops are here. How malapart-

ly(and that scot free)bad men do rail and raue in their publicke writings against the deare seruants of Christ,(and that by name) their shameful and shameles libels doe testifie at large. Of which wrongs seeing I my selfe(whiles I conuersed with them)bare not the least share, & yet bear, no wonder to any,if for my part,I like the better of Bishops. For I am not ignorant of this,that this is but the ordinary condition of al Gods seruantes; and that Satan of old and long since, hath by all possible and pestilent meanes endeuored, to make the presidents of Christ his Church,odious and infamous among men;that so,their credit especially,being either altogether crackt, or very sore crased, himselfe might with more facility and lesse iealosie set abroach and cast abroad, all manner hideous and hellish Heresies. In so much that I am perswaded,if *Moyses* himselfe,if *Peter*,if *Paul* were resident among vs, and were in that honour and esteeme, which were fit and well-beseeming their so honorable a calling, they could not possible escape the cankred chaps of these foule-mouthed Hell houndes. But so long as the seruantes of Christ are in authority in the Church, it is not much that the instruments of Satan can atchieue: but are they once brought vnder the hatch? alas, what is it that the seditious dare not attẽpt? This matter need no great proof, it hath too much.

Wherefore, of that degree of Honor,which the Prelats of Religion ought to inioy in an established christian common wealth,the very vilenes of this age doth inforce me to speak more at large. For if base men cannot abide, that Religion should be in any Honor, and villanous minds endeuor their worst, that the credit thereof may be none at all, or worse then it is, I thinke it no great wonder: but, that religious men (as they would seeme)should attempt the same,& euen they, which ought to be patrones and preseruers of the Church dignities, it is a thing odious,prepostерous and too bad absurd. Doe they not yell in vaine,and cry out against abuses to no purpose, whose end is not so much to mittigate the abuse of thinges, as to abolishe the whole vse? If

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the gouernours of the Church, haue not ſo beautified theyr Miniſtery with that integrity of manners, and innocency of life, which reaſon & the reuerence of Religion doth require; I defend them not, but that according to the lawes they may be ſeuerely puniſhed, and theyr betters ſurrogat into theyr places: Neyther are they exempt from the iuriſdiction of the chiefe Magiſtrates, whereby they may not cenſure vpon them, theyr liues and theyr goods, as vppon other cittizens. No queſtion, it greatly concerneth both Prince and people, that good men be placed ouer the Church, and euil men remoued theyr places: So that, whatſoeuer crimes are here, or elſe where obiected (and proued) againſt the Prelates of Religion, they are ſtaynes to the chiefe Magiſtrate, which tollerateth ſuch Miniſters in the Church, or aduanceth ſuch like to be Church officers.

There is not the like reaſon of the Romiſh cleargy: For they haue theyr peculiar Magiſtrates; nor liue they vnder the common law of other Cittizens, neyther yet are they accounted any part of them, (any longer then may ſtand with their owne commodity.) There the ciuill Magiſtrate, chalengeth no right to conuert, nor any power to amend, what ſo euer they committe. But notwithſtanding, if the Magiſtrate thinke beſt, to winke at theſe publique ſlaunders, I wil complain my ſelfe no further; onely if the ſlanderers wil ſo moderate themſelues, as that they onely finde fault with the fault, not with the ſtate; and whiles they rate abuſes, the honor of the calling may be left intemerat. *Let it be no mans ſlaunder, that he is a Biſhop, or a Miniſter.*

But of the two-folde order of Elders, according to the Lorde his inſtitution, and the Apoſtolique tradition, and the perpetuall vſe of the Church (ſo much as the ſtate of the argument doth require) theſe thinges I haue ſayd may ſuffice. Now it remayneth that wee ſay ſome thing alſo concerning Doctors.

Of Doctors.

Chap. XXVI.

WHen the Apoſtle in the fourth to the Epheſians nameth Paſtors and Doctors, a man cannot certainely gather from the manner of his ſpeech, whether hee would haue thē diuerſe in office, or but one and the ſame, and that, becauſe a Paſtor is neceſſarily a Doctor or teacher, but not ſo conuerſiuely. Wherefore the thing it ſelfe muſt help vs out: For not euery one, whome the Lord hath endewed with learning, and with a ſound gift of teaching, hath preſently withal receiued the authority of a Paſtor: The knowledge and ſcience of ſacred Scripture, may be giuen to any man; Kings, Nobles, Knights, may be learned, who notwithſtanding are not fitte to be ouer any Churches. And albeit the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and gouernance of the Church are ſo combined with the office of teaching, that he cannot be a Paſtor, which is not a teacher; notwithſtanding that followeth not in good conuerſion, that euery one who hath receyued the power to teach, ſhould forthwith be an Elder, or Biſhop of the Church: theſe thinges are diſtinct each from other. From among thoſe which are apt to teach, Elders and Biſhops are choſen, and of old, the Prieſthood was neuer without power to interpret: but yet the gift of prophecie, and the ability to interpret did not make a Prieſt. The Prieſt was of duety an interpreter of the law, and a Doctor, & a Prophet, but yet euery doctor of the law, or prophet, was not a prieſt. An Apoſtle in deed, was both Prophet, and Doctor, and Paſtor, but euery Prophet or Doctor, was not an Apoſtle or Paſtor. Seeing therefore that Doctors are diſtinguiſhed from Paſtors, & the knowledge of the myſteries of God with the faculty to expound them, is the gift of the holy ſpirit: whoſoeuer excell in that gift, and can as wel by writing as word of mouth edify the Church, they are to be reputed for Doctors, of what eſtate ſoeuer they be: the king ſhal derogat no more from his royall Maieſty, if for the edifying of Gods

people

people, he compose any godly worke, then did *Dauid* or *Solomon* of old, who in there time were no les renowmed for their heauenly wisdome, then for their princely power. Although the Apostle forbid a woman to speake in the congregation, yet if shee bee learned, shee may write, and priuately instruct her familie. Wherefore now, if we will come to the true vnderstanding of the Apostolike writings: wee must with sound iudgement put difference, between Pastors, & Doctors, who besides the teaching & interpreture of the word, did not otherwise intermedle with any thing in the church. For albeit in the infãcy of the church, those first christiãs, had no publik professed schooles: yet was it alwaies lawfull for Prophetes and Doctors to teach publicklie in the church; vnto whose graue aduice, the faithfull were no lesse bound to obey, then to their Pastors. But all this while, they had not the power of the Church censure, nor the right to redres whatsoeuer was amisse. Wee read of *Stephanus*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*, that they taught in the church of *Corinth*: but wee finde not, that they had there the authority of Bishoppes and Elders. And therefore no woonder, though the corruptions and abuses which raigned among them, were not giuen them in charge to correct, or that it was not layde to their charge that they did not correct; for there was no remedye, they must suffer that they could not remedy, and in the meane while, expect *Paule* his comming amongst them. Likewise in the Epistle to *Titus*, a man might well wonder, why *Paule* ioyned not in like commission with *Titus*, *Zenas* and *Apollos*, expounders of the lawe (they beeing then also in Creat:) except it were for this, that they were Doctors onely: for hee was not ignorant, that they were then also with *Titus*. Doubtlesse, had they bin of the same order and power, they should also haue receiued the same charge. And might it not better haue bene performed of three, then of one? But yet wee see, that the Apostle gaue the charge of *Teaching* there to many, the power of *Ruling*, to one alone. By the which it appeareth, that the Doctors and Prophetes of those times, were an aide vnto the Pastors, & that they taught vnder their direction. For indeed it chiefly concerneth the dutie of a Bishop, to teach the church

committed to his charge, by himselfe, and by others.

Many other such things are there in the Apostles writings, by the which we may take no smal view of the beginnings of churches, and of that forme of gouernment which was vsed of the Apostles, and receiued of the next immediate ages, & deliuered to Apostolique men, their successors. It is very wel noted of *Epiphanius*, that there are certaine histories hidden in the Apostles writings: the ignorance whereof, many times hath bene the cause of much error in the church. But thus it came to passe, that the Bishops gaue licéce to teach the scriptures vnto those, which the *Grecians* call Lay-men: The which thing, *Eusebius* recordeth in his sixt booke, the 13. chapter, concerning *Origen*. That when as yet he was not priested, hee did notwithstanding set vp schoole at *Cæsaria*, and was there intreated of the Bishops there abouts, not onely to dispute, but to *open the scriptures also*: The which thing *Demetrius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, (*Origen* his riuall) did greatly reprehend, when as notwithstanding himself was the man, that had sent him before into *Arabia* to the same end: neither yet did hee except against him, when hee was catechiser in his owne church. But when as of mere enuy he cold no longer indure, that the renowmed fame of *Origen* should daily increase, (seeking all manner occasions to picke a quarrell against him) he laid blame in the Bishops, that they would seeme to licence a Lay-man publikly to professe the scriptures. To the which, his malitious cauils, *Alexander* then Bishop of *Ierusalem*, and *Theodistus* Bishop of *Cæsaria*, make answere in these words. For that you vrge in your letters, that it was neuer hard of before nor is vsed as yet, *that lay-men should dispute, and expound the Scriptures in the presence of Bishoppes*, In that thing you seeme (I know not how) to auouch a manifest vntruth. For where fit and able men are found that may be any aid to the brethren in the word, they are requested of the holy Bishops, that they would instruct the people in the same, *as was* Eusebius *of* Nero, *at* Larandy, Paulinus *of* Celsus, *at* Iconium, *and* Theodorus *of* Atticus *among the* Synadines, *all the which were blessed & godly bretheren and it is verie likely*, (*although it bee vnknowen to vs*)

that

that the ſame thing is done in other places. Thus for *Euſebius.*

Wherefore, albeit the Primatiue churches had not their vniuerſity ſchooles, like vnto thoſe we haue at this day: yet, that they were not altogeather without ſchooles, *Alexandria* alone is witneſſe ſufficient, which brought out Doctors before *Origen, Pantæus* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and many others: Neither is it to be doubted, but that cuſtome alſo was deriued from the Apoſtles. We know the knowledge of ſcriptures to bee the gift of Gods ſpirite; but ſhall that therefore take away the exerciſes and the traueils of deuoted ſtudents: Amongſt the people of God, the Prophets had their Colledges, in the which *Samuell* and *Elias*, and *Eliæus* and ſuch others were Maiſters: neither was it any diſparagement for the other Prophetes to liue vnder their diſcipline. God was neuer the authour of tumultuous confuſion, but of order, nor were the men of God, a company of furious bedlames, but a ſocietie of ſage and wiſe men, of a milde and a moderate ſpirite. They which at this day holde ſchooles, and their orders in contempt, are franticke in their owne conceit, and ignorant of al good ſocietie and godly ciuilitie: nor do they know (nor can they conceaue) what infinite good they onely doe in all eſtates. Who can ſufficiently commend the religious purpoſe of thoſe men, which were the firſt founders of Vniuerſities? Are they not the fruitfull ſeminaries of all good litterature, and the holſome nurſes of al honourable virtues? The which being taken away, all humanity and ciuill curteſie would languiſhe togeather: and not that onely, but within a ſhort ſpace we our ſelues, nowe learned and religious, ſhould ſtrangely degenerate into minds and manners more ſauadge and barbarous, then are any of the nations. But no neede I ſhould digreſſe any further into the praiſe of our well renowmed Vniuerſities: onely this I ſay, that the Doctors and Teachers they ſend forth into the Church of Chriſt, and whoſoeuer els, by their priuate labours, and diligent traueils in the ſcriptures haue attained to the knowledge therof, ought not by any means to take vpon them any thing in the Church, againſt the good will, or without the good leaue of their BB.

For

For why? They are priuate men, & vnder their gouernance. But yet, being requested, or commanded by them, (as of old, so nowe) they may professe. : alwaies remembred, that they doe it for the good of the church. A degree of the vniuersity, or any other testimony of learning, ought not to impair the authority of the Pastors, or to disturbe the good order of the Church.

That at this day they which are created Doctors, are for the most part Elders : I doe not mislike it; for of olde also it was but a very rare and extraordinary thing, for lay-men to professe the woorde publiquelie. But time, place, and necessitye may limite this matter, and prescribe an order therevnto, not to bee ordered by head-strong and desperate temeritie. Yong mē must here take heed, least they presuming for their learning vpon the Vniuersities testimony, they should therefore thinke, that they are already adopted into the orders of the holy ministery; (vnlesse they be otherwise ordained then so:) the which I would haue thought scarse worthy the noting, were it not that I haue found some to farre ouershot in this error.

There are also some others at this day, who disclaiming the office of Pastors, and that ordination which is solemnised by the Bishops, will notwithstanding be accounted Doctors in the church: but to baptise, to minister the sacraments, to visite the sicke, to bury the dead, to read publique prayer in the Church, they think it stands not with their credit, And why? For sooth because they see these parts of the ministery performed, sometimes by some not deeply learned. Againe, there are other, which thinke it no smal part of reformation, that euery church should haue with their Pastor a Doctor: as if (good men) one Pastor, (who of duetye is also a Doctor,) could not discharge both parts. Many such fancies I wittingly omit, and recount them amongst the wel-pleasing dreams of such as learne to feed themselues : whome vérely I cannot so well like of. For albeit I confesse, that certaine Doctours publiquely professed in the Church, which were not Pastors: yet I find, how that was vsed in the Apostles times of necessitie

ſity, and afterwards very extraordinarily, & onely then, when either the vrgent neceſſity, or the preſent commodity of the Church did ſo require. For the ordinarye Doctours of the church, are the Biſhops themſelues, who if they could ſuffiſe to perform al duties alone, they needed nor Elders nor Deacons to ioyne with them. We know how in a ſmall Church one Elder is enough: And that the greatnes, and great increaſe of Churches, made this diuerſity of miniſters, both for order and number. But if anye man deſire to ſee more of this argument, he may read the writers of this age: Theſe thinges (as I thinke) may ſerue for this turne: who purpoſe not to treat of euery thing exactly, but onely to ſhew what I find wanting in ſome Churches, which would ſeeme the beſt reformed. To the which end, I haue recounted vnto you the *diuers degrees of the miniſters of the church*, euen as they were ordained of the Lord, and deliuered of the Apoſtles, and receiued of our firſt fathers, and Apoſtolik predeceſſors. In whoſe foot-ſteps we may more ſafely continue, then by not containing our ſelues therin, to intangle our proceedings in ſome other new and ſtrange extrauagants.



The ſecond Booke.

Of the honour which is due vnto Prelats and Elders in the Church.

Chap. I.

That by a certaine law of Nature among all nations, the Preſidents of Religion were eſteemed worthie great honour.

HOw great the dignitie and excellencie of the Goſpell is aboue all the vnhalowed myſteries of prophane nations, and how farre it excelleth the Leuiticall Prieſt-hoode of *Moſes* alſo, and conſequently in how great regarde of honour, the ſame ought to be amongſt all that profeſſe Chriſtianity: the time hath bene, when it was needleſſe to tell; but now, more then neceſſary to proue. For the lewdnes, (I might ſay the irreligion) of ſome men in this our age, doth of force compell me ſomewhat more earneſtly to lay to their charge, the neglect dutie of ingrate mindes towardes Gods Miniſters; whome while they depriue of their due honour, they bring Religion it ſelfe into deepe diſdaine, and withall they bewray that they make no great account of God himſelf, whoſe Legats they depraue. For there be, which think it were not a poinct matter, if they were not left woorth a poinct: and thinke it neuer the worſe for the common-welth, if they had no place

at all in the common-wealth. Becauſe (forſooth) it is ſaid of our Sauiour & his Apoſtles, that they renounced all worldly honours; therefore are they thought worthy no honour in the world; any vile or vulgar eſteeme (if ſo bee they may haue that) is enough for them, leaſt haplie they ſhould bee exalted in their owne ſence, and become proud of nothing. Thus they thinke none worthie of honour, that either doe not affect it, or are not infected with it. This errour is to bee confuted in this diſcourſe: in the which it ſhall bee ſhewed, that by all rights, both of God and man, the ſacred miniſterie in a well ordered common-wealth hath alwaies beene had in greateſt honour and eſtimation amongſt all nations, and, that Chriſtians (aboue all others) doe owe no leſſe to their Paſtors, then did of olde the people of God to their Prieſts.

Albeit the life of man bee inuolued and ouer-caſt with darke and thicke miſtes of errour and ignoraunce, inſomuch, that manie times it is dazeled at the view and ſight of ſuch thinges, which of themſelues are cleare enough: notwithſtanding there are yet ſome thinges ſo cleare and ſo manifeſt, as in the which no man (beeing not ſenceleſſe or beſotted) can pleade or pretend any ignorance. Such are thoſe generall notions of ſinne, which GOD (the author of nature) hath imprinted and imprized in our heartes and mindes, as thinges which are ingendred and congenerate with vs: ſuch is Religion towardes GOD, loue towardes our parentes, and reuerence towardes our progenitors.

And albeit the relique of God his Image, is many waies diſteyned in vs, ſince the attaindour of our firſt parentes, yet is it not altogether deſtroyed; there alwayes remayned ſuch a reſplendent light of that diuine nature, as by the which men might naturally and clearely ſee, both what was good, and what was not good; and conceaue in ſome ſort alſo, what was godly, and what was godleſſe. Indeede the Gentiles aberred from the true knowledge of the Godhead, and the true worſhip thereof: yet notwithſtanding

ding in this one thing they were well resolued, that there was a GOD, and that hee was to bee honoured. Their Religion was depraued by them, yet were not they depriued of Religion: but now, where it is come to that passe, that men thinke eyther that there is no God, or no worshippe of God: there the minde may bee sayde, not to erre, but to raue: for they alone offend against that notion of God, which is ingrauen in the mindes of all men, and which ingrafteth a voluntarie Religion, and a religious inclination, (will they, nill they) in the heart of euerie man. Nor was there euer Nation so barbarous, nor was there euer people so sauage, which could liue without Religion: take away Religion, and take away all ciuilitie from men, all seueritie from lawes.

There are many partes in a common-wealth, vnto the which for great cause, there are great honours giuen: especially to prowesse Martiall: of the which albeit the vse bee great, yet is it for no great time: But the vse of Religion is eternall: There may bee a state without a Soldiour, not without a Minister: The vse of a Soldiour is farre from perpetuall, the lesse, the better; the more seldome, the more welcome; but Religion is euerlasting, and can neuer bee casseered. But what should I compare the Ministerie of Religion with other mysteries in the common-wealth, which all haue their deserued honours? They all must vnuaile to Religion, whether you respect the excellencie, or the necessitie, or the commoditie of that mysterie. Wherefore, that so notable and necessarie a function to the state, should want honour in the common-wealth, it wanteth common reason. All Nations were euer of this minde and opinion, that they thought the Presidents of Religion, were alwayes to bee chosen from among the chiefe Nobilitie: or if haplie they were not by byrth Noble, then they were to bee innobled by the common-wealth. But that the consent of all Nations in anie one thing, is the verie lawe of Nature, it was verie well defined by that excellent & learned Orator *Tullie* (who

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could very well define:) againſt the which now at the laſt to ſtriue and ſtorme, vnder the colour of reformation, is rather an outrage, then an errour, to be conuicted of frenzie, rather then to be ſuſpected of follie. Did euer precept of our Sauiour croſſe and incounter, either the law which himſelf gaue vnto the Fathers, or the Edict which nature (God I meane) hath giuen and ingrafted in the ſecret penitralles of al their ſucceſſors?

Chap. II.

How great the reuerence of Prieſts hath beene among all Nations.

I Will therefore remember vnto you in how great honour the worſhippers of falſe Religions haue alwaies had their Prieſts in all places: that their follie may the rather appeare, who (I know not with what religion) would detract due honour from true religion. For albeit the Caldees, Perſians, Ægyptians, Greekes Latines, French, Britons, and all other Nations, haue by diuerſe errors, and moſt deteſtable ſuperſtitions, declined from that firſt and ſincere religion, which our firſt parentes left to their poſteritie: yet notwithſtanding, there alwayes remained many impreſsions as yet vncancelled, and they not concealed; as are theſe, That the world is gouerned by the diuine prouidence of the eternall Godhead, and that the ſame ruleth ouer all earthly thinges: that whatſoeuer is good proceedeth from him, and whatſoeuer is euill is declined by him: and *therefore* that he is to be religiouſly worſhipped: and *therefore* the ſacred ſymyſts of his religion, are eſpecially to bee honoured. And thus it came to paſſe, that among the *Aſſyrians* and *Babilonians*, their *Caldies*: among the *Medes* and *Perſians*, their diuines were alwaies of ſingular account, and ſupereminent authority; for why? They were the gouernors of religion, and the expoſitors

positors of the law both sacred & prophane. To which ende they were exercised from their youth in all learned and liberall sciences: they did comprehend the motions of the heauens, and deuined by the errours of the stars: they read, and learned, and taught Religion, rites, and lawes: they were compeers with kings in their gouernment, so that, nothing was done without their councel and consent. Finally, of so great esteeme was the discipline of the Wise-men among the *Medes* and *Persians*, as that hee was not thought worthy the Empire, that was not found skilfull in theyr Artes and Emblemes.

Theseus was the first that put a difference betweene Nobles (whom he called *Patritians*) and husband men, and Artificers: to the Nobles hee gaue power and preheminence to professe religion, to chuse Magistrates of their own companie, and also to moderate and interprete in matters sacred and diuine. This law their posteritie, as they receiued it of their ancestors, so they obserued it very religiously: By which meanes it came to passe, that great reuerence was alwaies giuen, both to the sacrifices, and to all other their religious actions. Neither could their Priests want their due parts of that diuine reuerence, whom they alwayes selected out of the noblest families, and who were euer one in their publique Councels. For, as if God himselfe was present (vnto whom we ought not to thinke that there is any thing vnknowne) euen so in the presence of the sacred Priestes, did they propound all their more serious actions; namely, the diuines among the *Athenians*, and the south-sayers sitting in counsell with the King among the *Lacedemonians*.

Strabo in his twelfth booke writeth of two Temples sacred to *Bellona*, which were called *Comana*: of whom the one was in *Capadocia*, the other in *Pontus*, both alike in all partes: for that indeede they were one made by the other, and had altogether the same rites and ceremonies common to them both. In those places, either of the Priestes were in greatest regard of honour next vnto the King himselfe: and albeit they were subiect to the prince, yet were the people suppli-

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about them. They had either of them six thousand seruants which were called *Hierodulists*, or *Church seruants*, besides no small quantitie of land, ouer the which they were *free Lords*. Twise euery yeare did the Prelate were a diademe; the Prince and Priests, for the most part, being of the same family. *Plato* in his booke *de regno* confirmeth these thinges, and sayth, that it becommeth all men to conceiue honourably of the Priests and Prophets, and that they ought of right to be had in great estimation, as wel for the greatnes of their actions, as the honour of their office. Wherefore (saith he) in Ægypt it is not lawfull for that King to sway the scepter, that holds not of the Crosyer. Insomuch, that if any, either by proweesse, or by policie haue inuaded the kingdom, who is not of that holy kind, notwithstanding afterwards (there is no remedie) he must be initiated into that mystery. And not there only, but in many places amongst the Græcians also, a man may find, where the chiefe sacrifices are committed to the chiefe Magistrates. Neither is this which I maintaine, lesse manifest among your selues: for you also aduance the most magnificent rites (especially the auncient sacrifices) to him, that by lotte is chosen your King. The same Philosopher in his twelfth Dialogue *de legibus*, speaketh much of that honour, which then, and of old was giuen vnto Priestes, both deade and liuing, as well in their publike assemblies, as at their solemne funerals.

The *Romans* and *Latins* were no whit inferiour eyther to the Greeks, or to the Ægyptians in this behalfe: for they also ioyned the sacred Priesthood with the royall Maiestie. All the first Kings of the *Latins* & *Romans* were Priests. The Emperors also, which afterwards succeeded them, would themselues be the high Priests. But what reuerend regard the *Romans* themselues had of Religion, *Valerius Maximus* hath left recorded in these words: *But such* (saith he) *was the care our fathers had, not only for the present account, but also for the future increase of religion, that euen then when the Cittie was most florishing fortunate, they deliuered ten sonnes, princes of the Senate, to the ten seuerall prouinces and people of* Hetruria, *onely to this end, that they*

might

might learne the ſacred diſcipline of their Religion. But what the authority of diuines was at *Rome*, we may beſt heare by a diuine. *Tullie* in his ſecond *de legibus* writeth thus: *The greateſt and the worthieſt thing in the Common-wealth, is the priueledge and preheminence of* Diuines, *ioyned with the greateſt authoritie: Neither doe I conceaue thus, becauſe I my ſelfe am a* Diuine, *but becauſe it becommeth vs all ſo to conceaue: For indeed, what greater thing is there, (if we ſpeake according to the equitie and right of the thing) then with authoritie, either to diſmiſſe the companies, and the councels of the chiefe Empires and the greateſt Potentats, when they are propoſed: or to reſtraine them, when they are concluded? or what thing can there be more ſolemne, then to ceaſe from the affaires wee haue already in hand, if one* Diuine *alone, doe but ſay the contrarie? What thing can there be more magnificent, then of his intire power to appoint, that the Conſuls ſhould depoſe themſelues from their Magiſtracie? Or what thing more religious, then to giue leaue, or not to giue leaue, to deale with the people, or not to deale? And what is it to repeale lawes, not lawfully made? that nothing can be allowed to be done by the Magiſtrat, in peace or in war, without their authoritie?* Thus farre goeth *Cicero*, whoſe authority I could confirme with many examples, if need were. But what ſhould I ſpeake of the Flamines and Arch-flamines, and other the Prieſtes, and Arch-prieſtes of the *Romaines*? It ſuffiſeth, they thought the Imperiall maieſtie it ſelfe to bee adorned with the honour of *Hie-prieſt*. But that all the ſocieties of *Prieſts*, were in eſpeciall honour among the *Romains*, it might verie wel be knowen, if it were but by this, that all the companies of Prieſts, had their places in publik triumphs, and ſolemne ſpectacles, (the chiefe Prieſts and the chiefe Curates:) *There ſet* (ſaith *Arnobius*) *fifteene men crowned with lawrel wreathes, & Iupiters Arch-prieſts with their myters: there ſet the Diuines, interpretors of the mind and will of God,* as doe alſo the chaſt Virgins, nurſes, and nouriſhers of the neuer *dying fire*. Of theſe thinges, hee that deſireth greater variety, may ſeeke them in the Romaine hiſtory: theſe things ſuffice me.

But nowe I will trauell ouer the Alpes, and will ſet before your conſideration, what religion was of olde amongſt the

French and Britones, and what honour for religion. And first, it is sufficiently knowen, that the *Druidists* were Priests of the chiefe nations on this side the Alpes: of whome wee read in *Cæsar* his Commentaries, that they were had in great esteeme, for so hee writeth: *In all Fraunce there are two sortes of those, which aboue the rest are of especiall honour and account: The one are the* Druidists, *the other are the men at armes. They are conuersant in diuine seruice, they attend vppon sacrifices priuate, and publike, they are the expounders of Religion: Vnto them great flocks of youth recourse for their learning, and these haue especiall honour among them. For they doe determine of all controuersies (in a manner) both priuate and publique: and if there bee any crime committed, any murther attempted, if any controuersie, about inheritance, or the bounds of lands, they also set downe their decree, and appoint the penaltie.*

If any person, either priuate or publique, will not stand to their censure, they lay the censure of the church vppon him, they excommunne him the Church: this is the greatest punishment among them. But who so are thus excommuned, they are forth-with accounted among the number of the graceless and vngodly: they are forsaken of all men, al men flie their companie and their conference, least by cõtagion they might take any infection, nor are they to haue any law if they desire it, nor is there any honor to bc giuen them, though they deserue it. But ouer all these *Druidists*, there is one as chiefe & principal, which hath the chiefe authority among them, &c. More-ouer, these *Druidists* vse not to be present in warre, neither doe they pay any tribute with other men, but haue an exemption from warres, and an immunity from all other incumbraunces. Thus witnesseth *Cæsar* himselfe. By the which wee may see, howe all nations euẽ of that light of nature, which yet glimpseth in the brests of men, and by the which they haue esteemed, either GOD or Gods to be adored, haue likewise iudged according vnto the same, that the ancients of religion are worthy to be consacred with all condigne honor and due obseruance.

Chap.

CHAP. III.

What the honour of the Prieſt-hoode was among the people of God.

THat this the iudgement of all nations, did not proceed of any error of mans mind, but of a certaine feeling of the law of God writen in their heartes, the moſt ſacred hiſtories & the lawes which God himſelfe hath made, doe proue ſufficiently: for doe they not al enthronize the Prieſt-hood among the moſt principal honours? Among the people of God, the Hie-prieſt had alwaies the ſecond place next vnto the King. Among the more ancient and antique fathers, when as yet there was no lawe written, whereſoeuer true religion did flowriſhe, the firſt-borne had alwaies this prerogatiue of honour in their families aboue the reſt of their brethren, *Hee was graced with the Prieſt-hood.* But if at any time, the Lorde of his abſolute authoritie, did tranſlate the right of the firſt-borne vnto the younger brother, with all hee inueſted him alſo into the ſame dignity of the Prieſt-hood: ſo came *Iacob* to bee prieſted.

And this cuſtome continued with the people of God, euen vnto the age of *Moſes*, vnder whome, by the expreſſe commaundement of God, the Prieſt-hoode was tranſlated from the firſt-borne in generall, vnto the tribe of Leuie. But now howe carefull God himſelfe was of this; That his Prieſt ſhould be honoured, the proceſſe of *Moſes* his hiſtorie can ſufficiently teſtifie: neither is it needfull for me to delate al things at large: it ſufficeth to haue noted the chiefgroūds Only this is not to be omitted, (beſides that our God wold haue him repreſent our hie and thriſe honored Prieſt, *Chriſt Ieſu*, that the rights which of dutie belong vnto God himſelfe: God (as an eſpecial fauor) he hath giuen to his Prieſts,

when as he demised vnto them the vse of those things which were offered and brought as presents vnto him, and which it was not lawfull for any man to touch and turne vnto his own vse, that was not the Lords Hie-priest. Againe, his pleasure was, that the right of the tythes and tenthes, and other honours of especiall prerogatiue, which by the lawes of nature did belong to God onely, should be a stipend vnto the Priests for their sacred ministery: besides, first fruits, redemtions of their first borne, head-pence, subsidies & such like, were by his lawes referred to the vse & benefit of the Priests, and tabernacle of the Lorde. And last of all, hee appointed them onely, the dispensation both of diuine and humaine lawes: in honor whereof, he did by law enact, that the iudgment of the Hie-priest should be held sacred and inuiolable in all controuersies: vnto the which, if any man were so obstinate as not to supply, his death was the lieu of his contumacie.

Chap. IIII.

Of that double honour which is due vno those Elders which rule wel, and the arguments of those that hold the contrarie.

THat the Elders which rule well in the Church are worthy of double honor, (according vnto the saying of Saint *Paule*) all that will be accounted christians, doe confesse in wordes; but when it once commeth vnto deedes, they can hardly award them a single (God knowes) and a simple honour. But verelie, if there bee a meed, due for euery merite, then doubtlesse there is an especiall dutie to be yeelded vnto the Ministers of the church. Doth not the onely regard of honestly decree, that Parents should haue of their children, the merite of their education? Lawyers of their clyents, the fees for their counsell? Phisitions of their patients, the reward for their direction? the Tutor of his people, the stipend for his instruction? But who so faithfullie administreth vnto

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the faithfull seruantes of God in sacred thinges, he doth largely containe all these benefites in one; Seeing that God hath imposed vppon the Pastors of the Church the persons of all these. For which cause doubtles, the irreligion and ingratitude of some Magistrats in this age is worthy the greater dishonor: who while they will seeme to be fauourites of christian Religion, defeat the Ministers thereof of theyr due Honor, & so far are they from imparting any thing of their owne thereunto, that what so euer of old hath beene consecrate to sacred vses, they are ready to distract vnto prophane Ministeries. These men, that they may seeme to haue some colour for theyr craft, will cunningly reason the case thus: That there is not the like regard to be had of the Ministery of the Gospell in this age, as was of old of the Priesthood vnder the law of *Moyses*: That God did cocker them in those Honors he spared them: but the Ministers of the Gospell are out of that age, they are past seuen, they may shift for themselues, and learne to liue in the world, poore and inglorious. And of this Christ gaue them a good example, (and his followers the Apostles) who of purpose did choose a poore life, and neglected the honors and pleasures of this world. Besides all this, they preach to vs the contẽpt of earthly things: why should they not lead the other way them selues, which they lay out vnto others.

This you heare is a popular and plausible speech, well pleasing all greedy and mis-begetting men, who regard not so much that the Church may be furnished with godly and learned Ministers, such as Christ requireth; as, that vnder this colour, they them selues may be excused of theyr irreligious contempt of Gods seruants, and theyr sacriligious imbecilling of Gods Church. But these men being obdurate in their base conceite, seeme for their fained and interfected religion, not vnlike vnto those, who with a counter-contempt of wealth, hunt currant after hid treasure, that so they may make a gaine of their beggery, and a sweete smell of theyr druggery. The nature of Cynicks is not clean worne out, together with the name: nor yet the cowherdly affectiõ

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of thoſe, that thinke fryerly beggarlines, to be Apoſtolique holines. Doe you not ſee here, how the ſame error hath put on ſundry ſhapes, leaſt by any means he himſelfe ſhould appeare in it, whom no man liketh in his own likenes? In deed the very colour of contemning thoſe thinges, which commonly al men do admire (as pleaſures, riches, and honors) doth bring the ſimple people into a religious wonderment; who for the moſt part worſhip with greater reuerence the bare counterfeit of vertue, then vertue it ſelfe, which cannot counterfeit. But if ſo be they do (as they ſay) ſo greatly delight in the imitable vertues of Chriſt and his Apoſtles; why doe they not alſo take view of thoſe forward chriſtians in the Primatiue Church, and goe preſently and ſell all theyr landes, and lay the price at the Apoſtles feete?

But now I muſt haue a ſaying alſo to thoſe other colours, which they lay on, to countenance this error, leaſt the mind being fore-ſeaſoned with preiudice, ſhould auerre an approued truth without iuſt triall. For my part, I will not willingly conceale any of thoſe things, which are layd to our charge by the patrons of this Hypocriſy. Wherefore (ſay they) as riches do bring with them certaine prouocations to ſin, & adminiſter nouriſhmét to the ſame: ſo pouerty is the mother of all vertue, and the ſtepdame of all vice. For that brideleth & bringeth vnder the vntamed wildnes, and wilfullnes of mās ſinfull nature. And that this is ſo, the aduiſed ſentence of the beſt Philoſophers confirme the ſame. For when as they (giuing ouer themſelues to the ſtudy of Philoſophy) were not ignorant, that worldly wealth would be but theyr hinderance, they ſpared not either to leaue them, or to loſe them. The Euangelike precepts ſubſcribe together to this opinion, the which in euery place doe incite vs to the lothing of riches, to the liking of pouerty, and more then that, they do euen thunder out againſt the rich the woes of all wretchednes. Contrariwiſe our Sauiour promiſeth his bliſſe to the poore, and affirmeth, that it is more eaſie for a Cammell to daunce through the eye of a needle, then for a rich man to aſpire to the kingdome of Heauen. Did not him ſelfe

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chooſe to be borne poore, to liue poore, to dye poore? of him ſelfe he ſayd, The birds of the ayre haue neſts, and the foxes haue holes, but the ſonne of man hath not where to put his head. Alſo if he entertayned any into his diſcipline, the firſt leſſon was to ſell al they had, and giue to the poore. For that in deed, riches, are but as certayne ſhakels to ſuch as follow Chriſt, with which they being intangled, can not poſſibly keepe pace with him. Neither can the minde ſurcharged with the burden of externe things, mount vp and ſoare aloft into the higheſt Heauens. Moreouer to theſe it is more probably added, that in the time of *Conſtantine*, there was a voice heard from Heauen, which ſayd, *That poiſon was infuſed into the Church*. The which was thought to be vttered becauſe of thoſe riches, & that great wealth, with the which the godly Emperour *Conſtantine*, is ſayd to haue honored the Paſtors, and Biſhops of the Church. But theſe things you muſt conſider are commonly trikt vp and ſet forth after the fineſt faſhion, and with the beſt ſide outward; and yet how many abſurd things, and abſonant from the mind and meaning of our Lord and Sauiour do follow out of theſe, and fall vppon heapes.

Chap. V.

An aunſwere to the arguments of the former chapter.

BVt that the truth of the controuerſie may appeare to al, al muſt learne to know, that thoſe Goſpell precepts, of *contemning riches*, were not giuen to a certain few Apoſtles, but to all, euen as many as woulde follow Chriſt. Wherefore firſt, that diſtinction of *counſells* and *precepes*, ouerturneth it ſelfe, euen in thoſe very wordes, which goe for counſels. For God hath ſette downe one lawe for all, one rule to liue well, and hee hath layd out one path to eternal life, as well in the olde, as the new Teſtament. Notwithſtanding if any man of any priuate purpoſe ſette downe

with himself, that he will needs liue in pouerty, God forbid, I should be his hinderance. But they which thinke, that the forsaking of all thinges, and the profession of pouerty is a thing, not commaunded to all, but giuen in counsaile to some, as a more perfect course of a godly life; I say, they are in a false beliefe. The wordes of our Sauiour are these: *So likewise, who so euer he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, can not be my Disciple.* Where you shall vnderstand, that what so euer is commaunded as necessarily to bee obserued of the Disciples of Christ, may not by any meanes be omitted: and therefore it is manifest, that there is no such counsell giuen in that place by the Lord our Sauiour, as that it is left in our owne free power to omit the same: but the *precept* there is set downe more absolute, vnder the paine of damnation, if it be omitted.

Luke. 14. 33.

The cause of this error, was the mis-conceyuing of that place in *Mathew*, the nineteenth, and *Luke* the eighteenth, & *Marke* the tenth, where there seem to be two distinct things set down, namely, an ordinary way to eternall life, by the obseruance of Gods commaundements, and another more perfect and ready way, by the alienation of all our goods, & the dispensation of them towards the poore. In *Mathew* we read how our Sauiour aunswered one; *If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the commaundements.* Who when he had very insolently boasted, that he had kept them all from his youth vp: how far he was from that perfection he boasted of, our Sauiour proueth, when he brought to light the secret corruption of a couetous heart, which lay hid within, and made knowen to him, how far he was from the intire loue of his neighbour, when he commaunded him to sell his possessions, and giue to the poore. In the which notwithstanding, our Sauiour required of him no new thing, no thing extraordinary, nothing that hee was not bound to doe by that same law, which he presumed he had performed: (seing ther it is commaunded that we should loue our neighbour as our selues.) For the force of the precept is this, that we owe not onely all outward thinges to God and our neyghbour,

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but euē our life alſo, if need doth require. Of the which perfection, how much this ſtripling wanted, he then bewraied, when as Chriſt commaunding him to giue but his goods to the poore, he ſeemed to be touched ſo neare. And yet vnles we be at that point with our ſelues, as that we could willingly depart frō al that we haue, for the meere loue of God and our neighbour, we can not enter into the kingdome of God. And therefore Chriſt did not pro; ound vnto the Pharaſie a free thing, the neglect whereof did not exclude from the kingdome of heauen; but a thing altogether neceſſary for him that would enter into it. And therefore when he did perceyue him depart away heauily after this precept, he added. *Verily I ſay vnto you, it is harde for him which is rich to enter into the kingdome of Heauen; againe I ſay vnto you, it is more eaſie for a camell to goe through the eie of a needle, then for a rich man to enter into the kingdome of God.* By which words it is moſt manifeſt, that no voluntary thing is propounded, the which if a man did performe, he ſhould do wel, if not, he ſhould not doe amiſſe (as it is to liue a ſingle life) but a thing altogether neceſſary for him that would be ſaued.

But what then meaneth our Sauiour (ſay they) when hee ſayth, *If thou wilt be perfect, goe, ſell all thou haſt, and giue to the poore.* Seemeth he not to graunt, that the keeping of the cōmandements of God are ſufficient to eternal life, but not ſufficing to perfection? No verily: For that this was not the meaning of the Lord, his very wordes ſufficiently declare, but that in deede he ſpake of that perfection which is commaunded in the law; of the which the young man had obſerued an outward ſhowe, when as he wanted the inwarde ſubſtance. For doubtleſſe, he which is not ready and reſolued to lay down al that he hath, & to leaue his life bloud alſo for the loue of his neighbour, he can not be ſayd to loue his neighbour as himſelfe. And therfore, ſeeing he would needs know what he wanted, our Sauiour very wiſely reioined him to the neceſſary duty of *charity*. Wherfore this is the ſenſe of Chriſt his words. If thou wilt be a perfect obſeruer of the law in deede, and art deſirous to tread that path into eter-

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nall life, which is layd out in the sayd perfect, and absolute performance of the law of God, keepe those commaundements of the loue of God, & thy neighbour: goe thy waies, set thy things in an order, that thou maist be ready at all times to giue vnto the poore.

Now, vnlesse this precept did concern al, to what purpose are these words, *It is more easie for a Camell to enter through the eie of a needle, then for him that is rich to enter into the kingdom of God.* Whosoeuer therfore wil serue vnder Christ his colours, is commanded to bid father & mother and all farewell, how deare so euer they be vnto him, yea he must also not spare his own life; for vnto all it is sayd, *Whosoeuer forsaketh not al he hath, cannot be my Disciple.* That our Sauiour here inioyned his Disciples no new or insolent thing, the example of *Abraham* may perswade vs, whō God of old also cōmanded, to leaue his countrey, his kindred, & al that was precious vnto him in Chaldea, that he might goe, whether it pleased the Lord to appoint him. So did God exercise the father of the faithful, that he might be alwaies at an howrs warning to surrender his riches, & al other emoluments of his life. In like manner Christ wil haue al the true legitimat children of *Abraham*, to depute all which they haue to his glory, and to benefit their bretheren, as the cause, the time, and the place require. And this is that perfectiō which God at this day requireth vnder the Gospel, and which God of old exacted vnder the law, & before the law, without the which no man at any time shall enter into the kingdome of Heauen. In deed it becommeth the preachers of the Gospel, to appeare before all others in the contempt of worldly things: but yet there is no peculiar precept thereof giuen to them, any otherwise then to all other christians. As also for the example of Christ which they aledge, they cannot be ignorant of this, that it is set forth to be imitated, not only of the apostles & ministers of the gospell, but generally of al christians of what condition soeuer. But nor patterne nor precept of Christ, either confoundeth or controleth the degrees of honor which are necessary in a common wealth. All men may lawfully be liberall towardes

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the poore, and be poore themselues also in spirit, eué in the midst of their welth. Nor *Daniel* his lieutenancy ouer the Babylonians, nor *Ioseph* his iurisdictiō ouer the Ægyptiās, nor *Mardochai*, nor *Nehemias* their courting among the Persians, were any hinderance to them in the worship of God: Neyther was yet the roiall Diademe of *Dauid* and other godly Princes any preidiudice vnto them, why they might not inherite the kingdome of Heauen. Wee haue read of the great wealth of *Iob* and *Abraham*, and other Patriarches, who were religious towardes God, liberall towardes the poore, and farre from all coueteousnes. Neyther doth penury conclude, neyther doth plenty exclude the contempt of riches. If a man haue nothing, and yet languishe in a desire to haue, he is couetous; againe, if a man haue much but yet is not bound to that which he hath, he is the true contemner of all that he hath.

The precepts of Christ, concerning the selling of our possessions, are vnderstood to be obserued, not so much in the work it selfe, as in the willingnes of minde to performe the same, according as time and place doth require. *Barnabas* (one of the seuenty) sold no lād, before he see the necessity of the brethren to exact the same. So long as the Lord liued (whom also he followed) he kept possession of all his possessions. In like manner, such times may fall (and we may fal into those times) in the which christian charity shal require euery christian to do the like: but where ther is no such need, it is better kept, and it shall doe more good and vppon more occasions, then if all were sold at once, & afterwards want wherwith to relieue other, or themselues, &c. I dare say, that *Abraham*, *Iob*, and *Dauid* followed the precepts of the Gospel, & good christians are as well to imitat them as Christ, & his Apostles. Our Sauiour himselfe witnesseth of *Zacheus*, that he was the child of *Abraham*, in imitation of the faith which was in *Abraham*: namely, when as he vndertook to giue halfe of that he had to the poore, & to restore four fould wher he had defrauded. By which words of our Sauior, the vanity of that reason is conuinced, which affirmeth that God cockred Actes. 4.

the Patriarches and the Leuitical Prieſts, (as a carnal people) in riches and honour, which thinges the Lord hath denyed to chriſtian Paſtors.

In deede we will not deny, but ſome things were giuen in thoſe times of an eſpecial and a partiall fauor, and that God did winke at ſome things of old, which at this day he wil not ouer-ſee: For then the cómon error of al nations, had in ſom things inuaded the people of God alſo, (as in their many wiues and often diuorſes, &c.) But, that God did not onely pamper the Fathers with things externall, and did not ere& the minds of the faithful to things eternal, it cannot be ſpoken without a mouth of blaſphemy againſt God, and a ſlander of iniury againſt the Fathers. Ther was the ſame faith of the Fathers, & vs, the ſame doctrine of both the teſtaments: the time onely is altered, (ſuch things being fulfilled which fore-ſhewed of the Meſſias) in religion & maners ther is no ſuch alteration. Who wil ſay (and not repent him) that thoſe moſt ſage & wiſe Heroïcks of that age, were ignorant of the nature of riches, & the condition of this preſent life? namely, that they were diffluent & diſtruſtful, & ſcarce worthy to be taken for goods; and that man ought to aſpire to a greater & more excellent good, which is certaine, and not to be ſuſpected, and ſtands vppon no die. The very Philoſophers knew theſe things, and argued very religiouſly of them: and did the diuine Prophets, the ſeruants of God conceiue nothing more noble then theſe earthly things? nothing can be ſayd of purpoſe more abſurd. Wherfore let this opinion fly, and let vs reſolue vppon that which is certain: *That ther is one way of life preſcribed to all men*, and that, the onely one way of vertue, conſtant & to be continued in al ages: For it was giuen of God. And againe: *That we may ſafely follow the Fathers*, when they cannot be proued to haue erred from that courſe of life, which was preſcribed both to them & to vs: and therfore, if it were then lawfull among Gods people, for the Prieſts and Leuites to inioy riches, and to be adorned with honors, the ſame is alſo lawfull at this day for the Miniſters of the Goſpell in a chriſtian common wealth.

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As for the Philoſophers (which as they ſay) had riches in ſo light account: I alſo ſay, that the ſame thing is taught vs by Chriſt, after a more excellent maner, and that he is not worthie the name of a Chriſtian, that doth not excell the Philoſophers in the ſame thing. For they both erred from the true ſcope, and beſides a vaine and popular applauſe, they gained nothing by their fooliſh and vnprofitable loſſe. Neither hath Chriſt taught vs to caſt awaye our goods, but to giue them vnto the poore. Goods are receiued of God, for the vſe of man; & they which are rich receiue them of God, not to looſe, but to laye out: but they, as if the thinges themſelues had beene euill, not of mans corruption, but of their owne condition, caſt them cleane away. When goods are called the *prouocations of euill*, you muſt vnderſtand that they are ſo called, not that themſelues are in fault, but they onely which abuſe them. Whatſoeuer God hath created is good, and hath ſome good vſe: that therfore one hath caſt all his wealth into the Sea, an other hauing conuaied all his ſubſtance into a few precious ſtones, cruſht them all vnto powder, it was an action of vaine and ridiculous applauſe, of no good vſe. But the precepts of Chriſt do direct vs to the loue of God and our neighbours, vnto whome wee owe all that we haue.

The contempt which wee ſee in ſome curriſh Philoſophers, and certaine ſmokie brethren of this age, is far from the loue, either of God, or of man: and it is well ſeene, howe farre it is eſtranged euen from that humanity, and humaine ciuility which ought to bee in men. But the pouertye of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, was of another kinde. Our Sauiour lead a priuate life with *Ioſeph* and his mother *Mary*, and got his liuing with labour and handy-worke, not with begging and loytering. He tooke care for his mother *Marie*, and alſo prouided for her according to that poore eſtate, which hee of ſinguler and eſpecial purpoſe had choſen. Neither could riches haue done him any hurt, if hee would haue poſſeſſed them: But that the leaſt occaſion of ſuſpicion might not be giuen to any, that hee aſpired to any earthly kingdome, his

diuine purpose was to liue poore, and lie hid for a time: for if the world had knowen the Lord of glorie, they would neuer haue crucified him: but that which a few wise men did, no doubt all the worlde would haue doone the like: they would haue brought presents vnto him from the furthest parts of the world. And what would *Tiberius* (thinke you,) haue done amongst the rest: who (inglorious as hee was) canonized Christ amongst the number of Gods, and tooke order with the Senate, that the same should bee done by publique decree?

After thirty yeares space, he betooke himselfe to preach, and within no great while, hee had no small family: hee intertained first twelue Apostles, and after them seuenty other disciples. For all the which he so prouided, as that they neuer wanted. And yet no small portion could suffice to kepe so great a company, were it to find them but sparinglie. By the which (as by the way) wee may geather, how great the bounty and liberality of good & deuout men was towards Christ.

That he maketh answere to a certaine curious companion, and telleth him, *That the birds of the aire haue nests, and the Foxes holes, but the Sonne of man hath not where to put his head*: the answere must be vnderstood according vnto the conceit of the demaunder, not according to the bare words of the replyer. He expected some great commodity to be had by the retinue of Christ, and supposed hee could not be without some stately and magnificent receit. (For wee read in *Iohn*, that Christ shewed his house to a couple of his disciples) But our Sauiour would allure no man vnto him with such baits, as with the which most men are intangled, (as are honours and riches and such like,) rather did he lay before him such thinges, as with the which most men are most commonlie terrified (as are slaunders, and need, and dangers.)

I marie sir (will some say) therefore it beseemeth not the Prelates of the church, and other ministers of the gospell, to roost aloft in Princely pallaces, and stately edifices. True indeed, if so be they were in like condition of time and place,

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as in the which our Sauiour liued: that is, if they liued vnder a Magiſtrate eſtranged from the true religion, who were like to be iealous ouer the true Meſsias and his Miniſters, leaſt they ſhould affect the kingdome, if he ſhould ſee them frollike in ſuch thinges, as by the which they might make ſome way vnto a kingdome, (as are great riches, ſtately pallaces, ſtrong townes, & coſtly retinues:) and beſides, if they ſhuld conuerſe amongſt a people, which could conceiue no other kingdome of Meſsias, but ſuch as ſhould flowriſh in al ſuch royall enſignes. But the Lord by this his meane eſtate affected two things: Firſt he preuented the Iewes cauils, ſo that they could not iuſtly accuſe him for affecting the kingdome; and beſides, hee taught withall, that his kingdome had no inter-common with the kingdomes of this world: So that by the one, hee auoyded the enuy and iealouſie of ſome, and with the other hee confuted the common error of all, concerning this one kingdome of the Meſsias? If ſo bee there had bene no danger of theſe thinges, but the myſterie of our redemption might haue beene wrought as well with the ſuſpected pompe of externe maieſtie: no doubt the owner of townes and towers and al external things, would not himſelfe haue refuſed them. For all the pallaces and Prouinces of the worlde ought of right to haue receiued the King Chriſt; when he came into the world, he came into his own; and the true heire came, not onely of his fathers kingdome, but alſo of the whole world. And therefore, that the blind and beſotted Iewes, did not intertaine him with that honor which beſeemed him, their negligence therein is not to be imitated, for their vngodlines cannot any waies be excuſed.

I would they could but tell mee, with what triumphes, with what courteous and friendly intertainment our Sauiour ſhould haue beene receaued of the Romaine Emperours and theyr deputies, if hee had beene well knowen of the Hye-prieſts of the Iewes, and other Princes and gouernours which ruled the world; (if he had bene wel knowen vnto them?)

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The people, and ſo many as beleeued that hee was the promiſed Meſſias, with what ſolemne clamors, and triumphant iubelies did they receiue him, and conuay him into the holy citty? Thoſe honours and others which were giuen him, our Sauiour did not reiect them, but rather defended them as hee might, againſt the enuious. And had there bene that religion in the Hie-prieſts, Scribes and Phariſes, and the reſt of the Iewes which ought to haue bene; their duety was to haue thronged together for the receit of the Sauiour of the worlde, and to haue ſolemniſed the intertainement of the promiſed Meſſias, with all honour and reuerence which is due, & might be done by men, not only to a mortall Prince, but to an immortall God. Wherefore, it is but a bad conſequence, to argue from that which was done of error & ignorance, to that which ought to be done of right & alegeance. Neither hath that any force to binde vs, which the Lord did of eſpeciall purpoſe extraordinarily, where as there remaineth not now the like vſe of that purpoſe. That his wil was to be borne in an out roome, and to be found in a fowle ſtable, and that his owne decree, was to bee crucified of the Iewes: it preſcribeth no law vnto vs, vnto the which wee are bound to obey. Neither is his example heerein to be admitted, but his purpoſe to be admired.

And that which I ſay of our Sauiour, the like do I affirme of his Apoſtles and other Miniſters, according vnto euery mans place. For as the eſtate of our Lorde and Sauiour, had beene after a far other ſort, if all men, or the Iewes at the leaſt, with whome hee did conuerſe, had but knowen that hee was the Lord of glory: So likewiſe doe I affirme, that the eſtate of the Miniſtery ought to be much more glorious vnder a chriſtian Magiſtrat, where Chriſt is wel knowen, then vnder an Heatheniſh gouernment eſtranged from the knowledge of Chriſt.

As for the eſtate of pouertie, I hold as I haue proued, that the ſame which is commanded in the Goſpel indefinitlie, is inioyned all Chriſtians generally: Neither are the Prelates of the Church any otherwiſe bound thereto, then are the reſt.

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How many ſoeuer the Lord in his laſt iudgement ſhall find vpon iuſt account to haue liued rich (againſt whom he hath pronounced the woe of his eternall curſe) they all ſhall periſh euerlaſtingly : and they onely which ſhall bee found among the poore in ſpirit (vnto whom the kingdome doth appertaine) ſhall liue eternally. The precept of Euangelike pouertie, which Chriſt followed, and left in charge to be followed of vs, is this; namely, *Lowlines of minde*, which is the moſt peremptorie contemner of al viſible things. The pore in ſpirit is he, which beareth not a hautie ſpirit, neyther houereth after diſhoneſt deſires : which liueth content with his eſtate, and committeth his whole life vnto God : if hee haue nothing, or if it be little which hee hath, he is not ſolicited with diſquiet cares; but truſteth in God his maker, of whom he hopeth for his daily bread: Againe, if he be rich, his ſpirit is not exalted by reaſon of his riches, but well remembreth, that he brought nothing vnto this world, neyther ſhall carrie any thing away : hee knoweth, that riches are but waſh, and waxe wayward, that they may eaſily bee tranſlated from him, that they may many waies periſh with him : he acknowledgeth, that he hath receyued them of the Lord, neither to be kept in ward, nor to be ſpent in waſt. All which partes of ſpirituall pouertie the Apoſtle requireth in his firſt to *Timothie*, the ſixt chapter, where he admoniſheth *Timothie* to exhort the rich vnto this pouertie : *Charge them that are rich* (ſaith he) *in this world, that they be not high minded, that they truſt not in vncertain riches, but in the liuing God (which giueth vs abundantly all things to enioy) that they doe good, and be rich in good workes, readie to diſtribute.* Heere haue we that pouertie which our Sauiour requireth to be in rich men: which (as you may ſee) doth nothing at all inuert the vſe and proprietie of earthly thinges. This I ſay is that pouertie, the mother of vertue, which all the holy Patriarches and Prophets, with all the Apoſtles & firſt Chriſtians, and laſt of all, which all the godly haue alwayes obſerued, and our Sauiour himſelfe both in word and deede, both in plentie and pouertie, taught to be obſerued. But is not this the verie Atheiſme of

Iulian the recreant, and the onely Saraciſme of the enemies of Chriſtian religion, when they haue robbed and rifled the Churches of their wealth and dignities, to inſult ouer the poore Miniſters, and to ſay, they ought to be poore after the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles? As for that they fetch in the vncertaine ſound of a certain voice, heard in the time of *Conſtantine*: it is to be vnderſtood (if it be to be beleued) of *Arrius* and his inuenomed doctrine, not of the forged donations of *Conſtantine*. The wealth and riches which *Conſtantine* vouchſafed, could not bee offenſiue to the Church, ſeeing they were neither ſo great as they make them, nor yet ſeduced the Biſhops and Elders from their Eccleſiaſticall functions, as they would haue them. But then, the huſbanding & diſpoſing of them was after ſuch a ſort, as might eaſely cleare the Biſhops from all ſuſpition of auarice.

Chap. VI.

That the honour which is giuen to the Paſtors of Chriſt his Church, is ioined with a certaine Religion towards God.

THat the Prieſts and Leuites vnder the olde law were exceedingly well prouided for, & that according to Gods owne ordinance and inſtitution, it is a thing better knowne, then that any man can make any queſtion of it. The ſame is as plain a caſe alſo for the Miniſters of the Goſpell vnder the new Teſtament, and that by the ſame authoritie, and for the ſame reaſons; were it not for the ſacrilegious impiety of ſome, who while (as they ſay) they ſeeke to ſhun one occaſion of euill in the Church, they bring vpon the ſame many miſerable extreems. Neither is want leſſe to be feared then abundãce, to breed the bain of the church. In what things our Fathers (as we thinke) offended, we ſee verie clearely; but where wee offend our ſelues, we wil not grope with our hands: Lynces in other mens faults, Moules in our owne. That there is an honor due vnto Parents, Lawyers, Tutors, & Phyſitions, it is

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most manifest: neither is there any man, that is not a bad man, that will denie it. How much rather are all Christians deuoted vnto the Ministers of the Gospell, seeing they alone doe beare the person & the burden of these all? For they are both Fathers, & Tutors, & Lawyers, and Physitions: & therfore, how much more they excell in worthines, so much more worthy to be preferred in worship. Besides all this, the reuerence which is giuen to these and such like, is, onely of curtesie & common ciuilitie, and respecteth man onely, and our duties to men: but the honor which is due vnto Gods Ministers, respecteth God himself, & his heuenly ministery. They are the seruants of God, his legates, the dispensers of the mysteries of God, & are sent of God to discharge an heuenly embassie for God in the person of Christ: whō, whosoeuer contemneth, contemneth the Lord Iesus, & God the Father, their iudge and reuenger. The countenance, or contempt of God his seruantes, toucheth God himselfe verie nearely, who is alwaies most honored or dishonored in his Minister. Wherefore that prerogatiue in the Church, with the which not man so much, as God him selfe is honored, is sacred and religious, and hath the promise of reward not onely in this life, but in the life to come. *Mathew* the tenth and the fifteenth chap. *He which receiueth you, receiueth me, & he which receiueth me, receiueth him that sent me. He which receiueth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shal receiue a Prophets reward; and he that receiueth a iust man in the name of a iust man, shal haue a iust mans reward: & whosoeuer shall giue drinke to one of these little ones, euen a cuppe of cold water onely in the name of a Disciple, verely I say vnto you, he shall not lose his reward.* The Apostle *Paul* in his Epistle to the Philippians, calleth these *presents* which were sent to him, an odour that smelleth sweet, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasant to God. So that in the poore, whose wants we releeue, Christ is worshipped, but in the Ministers, whose calling we maintain, Christ is honored.

The Leuitical sacrifices haue had their end: but the Euangelical sacrifices shal haue no end, vntil the worlds end. The *Euangelike sacrifices* are the confessiō of faith, vnfained thāks

giuing, and all the trophees of prayse, which wee erect and direct vnto the glorie of God: as also the chearefull bountie, and charitable good workes wee shew foorth vnto the comfort of men. For which cause the Apostle to the *Hebrues* exhorteth all men that *they would continually offer the sacrifice of prayse vnto God through Christ, that is, the fruit of the lips which confesse his name:* and (moreouer,) *that they would not forget to doe good, and to distribute: for they are the sacrifices* (saith he) *with the which God is well pleased.* Howsoeuer therefore prophane men, make small account of that honour which is due vnto the Elders, notwithstanding, that the same is sacred, and to bee compared with the *sacrifices* which were offered of olde in the Lords Temple, it is apparantly manifest by the manifold testimonies of Scripture.

CHAP. VII.

Certaine other reasons confuted, and the truth confirmed by manie testimonies of Scripture.

BVt it shall not bee amisse for vs to see in this place, how farre out of all order the frenzie of certaine vngodly men will hurrie it selfe: who will not onely not deigne to contribute of their owne to the Ministers, but they hardly vouchsafe them those honest stipends, which they pay vnto them out of the robberies of their owne Churches. Out of that one example of *Paule*, they thinke they may set the Minister to plough and harrow, or whatsoeuer mannuarie drudgerie: that by this meanes, all sacred studie might languish, and the little flocke of Christ, being left desolate of learned Pastors, might lie open to the rapine & torture of foxes, and cater-pillers, and wolues of all sortes. There is no great neede (say they) of any great store of *Learning* in a Minister: it is enough, if with a little zeale, and a few good wordes they can exhort the people to a certaine

kind

kind of verbal deuotion: and for this, the Bible is extant in the mother toong: as for the deepe-sprung-brestes of the learned Muses, it sufficeth diuines, if they may get but a smacke of them by the way, or sucke them as through an hardle. O diuine wisedome, Christ, in thy Fathers bosome, is not this with that recreant *Iulian*, to enuy thy Christian people the liberall Artes? And that which not? And thou seest it.

But let vs returne to *Paule*, who in an Epistle to the Corinthians recounteth of the labour of his handes, by the which hee got his owne liuing, as a prayse to himselfe, and a reproch to the Corinthians; shall it followe of this, that all Ministers of the Gospell ought to doe the like? for so they thinke. But now can not I tell, whether I shal rather disclaim the impudencie, or disdaine the ignorance of these men: seeing the Apostle himselfe doth plainely resolue, that hee did more in that case then he needed, and lesse then hee might. For had he not as great right, to put them to as great charges, as did the other Apostles? But for certaine causes hee would not, and therefore spared them. But who seeth not heere, that this the commemoration of the Apostle, is a certaine exprobation vnto the people of that dutie they neglected? So long as that Epistle shall bee read among men, that shame will still sticke fast to the Corinthians, that they suffered so excellent an Apostle to want, in so plentifull a Cittie. Doubtlesse therefore, it is but too too bad dealing both with *Paule*, and with vs, to vrge that which the Apostle was vrged to doe once or twise vpon occasion of necessitie (that he might offend no man, or least any being offended, should say or thinke, he preached the Gospell, not so much for the loue of religion, as for the hope of reward:) and to passe ouer as neuer seene the more autentike examples of other Apostles, and of *Paule* also himselfe, who else where openly testifieth, that the Churches had abundantly ministred vnto him all thinges necessary, & that hee also freely exacted the same thing of them, and that of dutie: (as in the fourth to the Philippians, from the tenth verse to the twentie, and to

Philemon, from the eight verſe to the nineteene. But what is the reaſon (may we thinke) that that one place of the Corinthes ſhould bee ſo much noted, which maketh mention of the labour of the Apoſtle his handes, and that notable place of the Actes ſhould bee ſo little ſpoken of, where it is reported, that the faithfull layde the price of their poſſeſſions at the Apoſtles feete, and that they left all their ſubſtance in their handes? And why is not that example of *Ananias* and *Saphira* as well quoted, who for detracting ſomewhat of the price of their owne landes, were ſeuerely puniſhed by preſent death? Ingrating couetouſnes no doubt, and irreligious ingratitude hath made them there, as quicke ſighted as *Argus*, but here as bleare-eyed as Oules, ſo that thereat they ſtare, herein they are ſtarke blind.

But, that the intoxicate frenzie of theſe men may appeare the more outragious, it ſhall well requite our paines, if in this place we make regarde to the Euangelike precepts of Chriſt in this cauſe. In the tenth of *Mathew*, and the tenth of *Luke*, wee reade, and wee may remember, how the Lorde, when hee had ſent his Apoſtles to preach the Goſpell, gaue them authoritie to feede vpon thoſe things that they found amongſt the faythfull. *The labourer* (ſaith hee) *is worthie of his reward.* And *Paule* in his firſt Epiſtle to *Timothie*, the fift chapter: *The Elders which rule well* (ſayth he) *are worthie of double honour, eſpetially they which labour in the worde and doctrine: For the Scripture ſaith; Thou ſhalt not muſſle the mouth of the Oxe which treadeth out the corne.* And in his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians the ninth chapter, from the fift verſe to the fifteene, he maketh a plaine and a plentifull demonſtration by ſeuen ſeuerall argumentes, that they which preach the Goſpell, ought to liue of the Goſpell.

His firſt reaſon is taken from the Soldiour: That no man goeth to warre-fare of his owne coſtes and charges. The ſecond, is drawne from the huſbandmen: Who, if they plant a vine, it is reaſon that they ſhould eate of the fruite of the vine. The third is borrowed of the ſhepheard: Who feed their flockes, and are fedde by their flockes. And that

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no man ſhould thinke the Apoſtle ſpake of affection, he addeth: *Say I theſe thinges according to man?* Namely, as a man moued with auarice, or carryed away with couetouſneſſe? Nay then he prouoketh of his ſide the law it ſelfe, which alwayes inioyned vs a certaine ciuilitie, and ſemblable kindnes euen vnto brute beaſtes;(if they doe vs any ſeruice) that wee may well knowe, how much rather wee ought to performe the ſame towards men, I ſay towardes men, which aboue all men, deſerue well of all men. And this is the fourth argument in that place: which he amplifieth by the ſimilitude of him which ploweth, and threſheth out the corne, for the commoditie thereof. *It is written in the law of* Moſes (ſayth he) *Thou ſhalt not muſsle the mouth of the Oxe, that treadeth out the corne; Doth God take care for Oxen? eyther ſayth hee not this altogether for our ſakes? for our ſakes no doubt it is written: that hee which eareth, ſhould eare in hope, and that he which threſheth in hope, ſhould be partaker of his hope.*

The fift argument is drawne from them which ſowe corne, in hope to make a good harueſt: *If we haue ſowne to you* (ſayth he) *ſpirituall thinges, is it a great thing if wee reape your carnall thinges?* There is no proportion at all betweene theſe thinges; we giue you much greater things then we receiue of you.

The ſixt argument is drawne from the diuine inſtitution of God, vnder the old Teſtament; becauſe it was then of the Lord ordained, that the Prieſtes and Leuites, ſo many as miniſter at the Altar, ſhould liue of the Altar: *Doe you not knowe* (ſayth hee) *that they which miniſter about holie thinges, eate of the thinges of the Temple? and that they which waite at the Altar, are partakers with the Altar?*

And laſt of all hee ſheweth, that the like inſtitution was ordeyned of the Lord, vnder the new Teſtament: *That they which preach the Goſpell, ſhall alſo liue of the Goſpell.* By which reaſons it is made as cleare as noone-day, that all Chriſtians are bound in dutie to honour their Paſtors. And how then ſhould they be excuſed of ingratitude & vngodlines, which defraud them of their due honour?

That

That the contempt of the Minister redoundeth to God their Maister, and that no man so much as God himselfe is thereby held in scorne, that one place in the sixt to the Galathians the sixt verse doth abundantly declare, which is after this sort: *Let him that is taught in the worde communicate with him that taught him, all his goodes. Bee not deceiued: God is not mocked; For whatsoeuer a man soweth, that shall hee also reape; for he that soweth to the flesh, shall reape corruption, but hee that soweth to the spirite, shall of the spirite reape life euerlasting.* Let him which is instructed (sayth hee) communicate *all his goodes.* Good Lord (will some say) what meaneth he by this? What he meaneth may easily be vnderstood by a *Synecdoche*: by the which he sayth *All his goods*, for part of all his goods. How great a part, it is not prescribed; vnto the old people the tenth part was layd forth; vnto the new people no part: seeing they owe of dutie vnto Christ their Lord and Sauiour, not the tenth onely, but the ninth, eight, seuenth, sixt, fift, and euen the whole, and all, if the necessitie of the Church requireth so much. To this he addeth; *God is not mocked:* as if hee should haue saide: It is but in vaine, that you make so many vaine excuses: for here the question is not of mans mainteinance, but of God and the Gospels countenance: not what honour you shew to man, but what due regard ye yeelde vnto God: thinke not you pintch on the Parsons side, when God himselfe is the partie; you may haplie delude them, but God will not be dallyed withall. Here therefore, if wee could but once conceiue the least part of that which all rich men, and Nobles, Barons, Earles, Dukes, and Kinges themselues doe owe vnto the Ministers of Gods Church; and that the same might once bee freely giuen, according as Gods lawes doe commaund, and the godly dutie of a gratefull minde doth require: how great might we think would the treasure of the Church be, in a good Christian common-wealth?

That

Chap. VIII.

That the good examples of our fore-fathers, preſcribe a lawe to their ſucceſſors.

WHen our Fore-fathers had well conſidered that there was no certaine preſcription ſet downe, as a lawe vnto them for this matter vnder the Goſpel, which preciſely limited what and howe much euery man was to giue: they wiſely & willingly ſet downe a law vnto themſelues and their ſucceſſors and they gaue vnto the church tithes, oblations, glebes, and yearly reuenues from out their poſſeſsions: that thereby the Paſtor might bee maintained, the poore releeued, and the youth inſtructed: The which voluntarie donations are now ratefied vnto the Church by the ſame lawes, which make good to euerie man the propriety of his own poſſeſsions.

Who doubteth of the liberality of the Primitiue Chriſtians, (which brought the price of their lands to the Apoſtles.) but that they might as well haue giuen them the land it ſelfe, if the ſtate of the time and place had bene ſuch? But they which did then expect the ſubuerſion of that place and people, and looked for no better world vnder thoſe vngodlie Prieſtes, then their Lorde and Sauiour had found before them, they thought good to ſell all, and ouely of their meer bountie, (no man compelling them thereunto) they committed al the mony to be at the Apoſtles curteſie. This their example hath beene well followed by our godly forefathers, who willingly out of their own wealth haue liberally prouided for the church, not for once, but for all ages: the which thing they thought to be neerly appertaing to their duetie.

I am not ignorant that this religious action hath degenerated into a prepoſterous zeale: for which cauſe, (curteous reader) I giue thee to vnderſtand, that I do not here defend any godles, or ſuperſtitious donations, but onely note vnto thee the great vntowardnes of mans nature, which is alwais more prone to ruine into contrary enormities, then to run

on in the way of harmeleſſe mediocrity. Wee eaſily ſtumble from one extreame to another: but yet their fall is more tolerable, which tranſgreſſe in exceſſe, then they which offend in defect: as it is alwaies more eaſie to deduct from aboundance that which is needleſſe, then to ſupply in an exigent that which is needful. Happely ſome cur-modgen, or curſed Church-robber will ſcorn at this; who haue alredy ſet down this for their reſt, ether with a gredy mind to rifle the church or with a galled conſcience to reteine that they haue rifled from the church, rather then of any godly deuotion to paſſe any thing of their owne vnto the welfare thereof. But let him ſcorne at me, and ſcorne for me: yet let him beware he laugh not God to ſcorne. it ſufficeth me, if he can ſo ſatisfie God.

CHAP. IX.

That the oblations of Chriſtians, are part of Gods worſhip.

ALbeit God be not to be wone by gifts (for what needeth he, ſeeing hee needeth not ame) yet notwithſtanding he requireth ſom fruit of our religious thoughts, and ſome teſtimonie of our loyall mind, and he will be honored of our *earthly ſubſtance:* for this is part of that worſhip which is due vnto God, and in the which wee prooue and profeſſe our ſelues thankefull, for thoſe benefits we haue receiued. Do you not know, that God will bee ſo worſhipped in ſpirite and truth, (that is, in mind and faith) that in the mean while, there be no want of extearne worſhip in the honour and homage of our bodies? For he is the maker and maintainer, both of body and ſoule, and therefore of right hee is to be worſhipped in them both. And are not our bodies the temples of the holy Ghoſt, which dwelleth in vs? In like manner, ſeeing hee is alſo the onely doner of all our wealth and worldly goods, of like right he requireth our duty, and his honor in this behalfe. Whereupon our Lord and Sauiour, being mooued in a caſe of paying tribute to *Cæſar*, made this anſwere, *That wee muſt giue vnto God, that which is Gods, and vnto Cæſar that which is due vnto Cæſar:* ſhewing thereby, that there is a tribute due

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to be paid vnto God also, as well as to *Cæsar*, as a testimony of our loyall subiection to his diuine Maiestie. And is not the reason also as great for our heauenly King, as an earthly *Cæsar*? *Solomon* in his Prouerbs, among many other religious precepts, hath giuen vs this: *Honour the Lord in thy riches, and in the first fruits of all thy increase: and thy barnes shalbe filled with abundaunce, and thy wine presses shall burst themselues with new wine.* For no doubt we owe a tribute to the Lord, as vnto the great King, no otherwise then to an earthly Prince: vnto whom wee may pay tribute for two respects: both that hee may be able for those charges he vndertaketh for the common-wealth, & also, that we may testifie vnto him our fealty and subiection, as to our lawfull King: the first being for our vse, the second for his honour. But now, the first of these hath no place in God, neither doth hee require any thing of vs in that behalfe: but the latter is so much the more due to God, by how much the more God is greater than man, and the profession of subiectiō, is necessary in euery faithful christian. Wherfore, after the Lord had appointed *Israel* a peculiar people to himselfe, forthwith, as Prince and chiefe Lord ouer his people, he demanded the tenth of all their increase, with other rites and royalties of his supreame power. And wheras it was alwaies an heinous matter among the Eſterne Monarks, to appear before the King without a present: God required the like honor of his people, namely, for that hee was both king and Lord ouer his people. For which cause, in the law, where all the males are commanded to appeare before the Lord, they are forbidden to come neere without an offring. Moreouer, is there not yet extant in *Malachy* a shamfull rebuke against the Iewes, which practised deceit in their first fruits, and in their tythes? That sacrilege the Lorde iustlie punished in them with the dire of a contagious dearth: the which notwithstanding, hee promiseth (if they will amend that fault) that hee would open the windowes of heauen, and powre out vppon them a gracious plentye of all thinges. The wordes of the Prophet are these: *Will a man spoyle his Iudges? but yee haue spoyled mee, and say, in what*

what things haue we ſpoiled thee? in tythes and firſt fruits. Yee are curſed with curſing ye ſelfe, for ye the whole nation haue ſpoiled me. Bring ye all the tithes into the ſtore-houſe, and let there bee meat in mine houſe, and proue me now ſaith the Lord of hoſts, if I wil not open vnto you the windowes of heauen, that I may poure vpon you a bleſſing, that their may be no end of aboundance &c. Among the people of God it was alwais reputed an ſpecial exercise of gods religion, to pay tithes truly of all that they poſſeſſed: which they knew to be giuen, not ſo much to a mortall prieſt, as to the immortall God. Doth not the Phariſie in the goſpel glory in his fidelitie of true tything, as in a rare virtue?

CHAP. X.

An answere to certaine obiections: the which it is confirmed by that the miniſters of the goſpel are worthy no leſſe honor then were the prieſts of old among the people of God.

BVt it is excepted, that the times are altered: that at this day vnder the goſpel, the Prieſthood is trãſlated into Chriſt, whoſe ſhadow it was: that hee hath impoſed an end to all outward rites: by which means the right of tything, is alſo antiquated with the Prieſt-hoode, and all that outward glorie which made the antique Prieſts more honorable is therwithall ecclipſed. Neither is there any man at this day which can arrogate to himſelfe (without impiety) thoſe auncient honours of the former prieſt-hood. Is it not regeſtred among the chiefe errors of Antichriſt, that he vaunteth and aduanceth himſelfe for Hie-prieſt? Becauſe that honour at this day, is proper and peculier to Chriſt alone. In place of the auncient Prieſt-hood, which was accompanied with an externall and a religious maieſtie, our Sauiour hath ſubſtituted the Eccleſiaſtical miniſtery, baſe and abiect, in great diſgrace, and cleane out of countenance: And hath hee not giuen them their chriſtning alſo, according to their calling?

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For therefore he gaue them the ſeruile names of Apoſtles, and Miniſters, and Deacons, and Biſhops and Paſtors, ſetting aſide all titles of Honor and dignity, as are the names of Fathers, and Doctors, and Lords and ſuch like: that they might knowe, what they were to conceyue of them ſelues & their Miniſtery, and that the people might likewiſe learne what reckoning to make of theyr paines, and theyr perſons.

Here is a faire tale ſurely, and well ſoothed. But what of all this? that the Paſtors and Biſhops of Chriſt his Church, are worthy leſſe Honor in a chriſtian common wealth, then were of yore the Elder Prieſts? Why then let vs conclude with al a lya or too: that the leuitical prieſthood is more honorable thē Chriſts; & that the miniſtery of the law is more glorious, then that of the Goſpell, then the which if there can be any aſſertion more abſurd, this concluſion of theirs ſhall goe for no bad confection. For if the Honor due to the Miniſter, be to be meaſured according to the outward ſhew, we may well conclude, that *Aaron* was worthy double reuerence, and our Sauiour the high Prieſt thriſe ſacred, none at all. For why? he was inueſtured with no mitre, no labels, nor did he gliſter with gold and precious ſtones. But let vs firſt take that they giue vs in good worth; (namely that the Prieſts of olde were to be honored with no ſmall obſequy) & then let vs examine the caſe, what is to be deducted therof from the Euangelique Miniſter.

You are to vnderſtand therefore, that in moſt parts of the old ceremonies, many times two things did meete in one, which notwithſtanding were diuerſe and diſtinct in them ſelues: of which the one did containe the ſhadow and promiſe of that which was to be exhibited in Chriſt, the other did pertayn to ſome proper and eſpeciall duety in the Church: the ſhadowes are ceaſed (thoſe things being performed which in Chriſt were promiſed:) but the bond of eſpecial duty remaineth as yet not cancelled. For example ſake: the commaundement of keeping the Sabaoth, hath a promiſe of eternall reſt, and a ſhadow of the reſt of our bodies the ſeuenth day; and beſides that, it includeth a morall du-

tie of ſeruing of God, and ceaſing from our labours. The other precepts alſo do cõtain that duety of external worſhip, which is due vnto God, together with the rites of that time: the rites being relinguiſhed, the worſhip of God to be retained. The like we may ſay of the Prieſthood, in the which ther were ſundry reſpects: Whatſoeuer was typical, was determined in Chriſt: but of the other partes which were morall, (namely ſuch as concerned the inſtructiõ of the people, the miniſtery of the Sacraments, & the regiment of the church) the manner is changed, but the kinde remaineth: ther is not the like order in circumſtance, but the ſame ordinance in ſubſtance of the office. The chiefe parts of the Prieſts functi-on were theſe: to teach religion, to interprete the law, to gouerne the Church, to adminiſter the Sacraments, to ſtande betweeen God and the people, to make ſacrifice, & to purge ſins. All which parts, albeit our Lord and Sauiour hath only wholly diſcharged, and ſome of them alſo ſo peculiarly improued to himſelfe, as that they cannot be imparted with any mortall thing beſides him ſelfe: yet notwithſtanding he hath made many of them of that nature, as that without any diſparagement to his perſon they might be left in common to others. In deede no ſinner can bee made a ſufficient mediator between God and man. (Neyther can he which is not pure from the guilt of ſinne him ſelfe, expiat with bloud the ſinnes of man, or auert by death the wrath of God.) The auncient Prieſts bare the figure onely of thoſe more then diuine functions, but the thing it ſelfe was in Chriſt alone; And therfore whoſoeuer at this day ſhal challenge to himſelf the one of theſe, committeth blaſphemy againſt Chriſt.

But as the Lord did nothing in derogation of his heauenly dignity, when he gaue power vnto all chriſtians to offer ſpirituall ſacrifice, namely the ſacrifice of praiſe, and praier, &c. (For al they which in a true faith worſhip God are made Kings and Prieſts:) euen ſo likewiſe, without any prophanation of his peculiar Prieſthood, hath he committed the other parts thereof (which I touched before) namely the teaching of religion, the expounding of the law, the miniſtring

of the Sacraments, the gouerning of the Church, and such like, I say he hath graunted and demised these and such like parts of his diuine Priesthood to his Apostles & Chuch-ministers: who in this respect may participat the honor of the old Priesthood without impiety, & may also be called Priests without gealosie. The which name although in the first age of the Church, we doe not read that it was giuen to the Ministers of the Church, least happely the Ministers of the olde Synagogue, & the new Church might be confounded: (For as yet the old Priesthood remayned, or the fresh memory thereof continued) yet afterwards, the Fathers did not amis, when they renewed the same againe in themselues, the Prophet *Esay* being their author, & the spirit of God their warrant, who diuined long before, that God should raise to him selfe *Priests* & Leuits out of the Gentiles. Neyther is there any daunger at all in the name at this day, were it not for the sacrilege of the Bishop of Rome, who hath set vp Altar against Altar, & Priesthood against Priesthood, & the sacrifice of the Masse, against the sacrifice of Christ, inuading by all meanes those partes of the Priesthood, which are peculiar to Christ alone: of which matter we are not to speake in many words at this time Briefly, this we desire may be made knowen to all, that we detest the impiety of the Romaine Antichrist, & for so much as pertaineth to this part of the Priesthood, we acknowledge no other Priest but the Lord Iesus. In the other parts (which we haue noted) wee hold, that the Apostles & other Pastors of the church, haue lawfully vndertaken the dignity, as of their legacy, so of the *Priesthood* also.

Now then, I ioyne more chosely with them for the issue of their whole argument, & answere, That whatsoeuer in the leuiticall Priestood did fore-shadow the office of Christ, is vterly abolished by the bloudshed of Christ, of the which no part may be vsurped by any mortall man: Againe, that the rites, ceremonies, & outward pomp of the Priesthood, as wel in the ornature of the body, as the ordinaunce of tithes (as they were then challeged) are togither deceased by the same meanes: but yet, that honor which was due to the in regard

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of the worthines of theyr holy ministery, is by no means impaired, perished much lesse. The Priesthood of *Aaron* being abrogated, the rights of that Priesthood after their seuerall manner are also abrogated, and with them the ministery of the Church is translated from the Tribe of *Leuy*, to the company of Apostles, and their successors. In whom seeing all things which merit any Honor, are greater then they which were in the Leuiticall Priests, doth it not necessarily follow, that a christiã doth owe no lesse honor to his Pastor, then the Iew did perform to his Priest? I confesse the duty of tithes & oblations (after that manner and order they were offered vnder *Moyses*) are ceased vnder Christ. Not that christiã people should be lesse bounteous towardes their Pastors, then were the Iewish nation towards their Priests; but rather, that the free people should exceede the seruile, and that a christian should doe that of his owne accord, which the Iew did by constraint. For where as christians haue receyued of the Lord, not onely the like graces, but farre greater blessings then the Iewes: and seeing the Ministery of them whom the Lord hath set ouer his church, is in nothing inferior, or lesse necessary then the Ministery of the law, of force, if not rather of duety, there remaineth as great a necessity of due honor for this, as for that; at the least no lesse: seeing that what soeuer was ceremonious in the olde oblations of tithes and offerings, is so diminished, as that what so euer was morall therein, reteyneth his force still. Had there been no proportion between both these Ministeries, & the necessary duties of them both, the Scripture would neuer haue sayd, that, *As they which minister about holy thinges, eate of those thinges which are of the Temple, and they which waite at the Altar, are partakers with the Altar: So the Lord hath ordained, that they which preach the Gospell, should liue of the Gospell.*

That our Sauiour ordayned the Ministery of the Gospell with no ornature of outward beauty, no magnificence of worldly statelines, as he did of old the Mosaicall ministery: it was not to this end, that Christians should doe lesse Honor to theyr Pastors, then did of old the Israelites; but for

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that the worthines thereof is such, that it needeth no outward ornaments: The which notwithstading if it may haue, it is not magnified therin, if it may not haue, it is not diminished therefore. But where the ministery of the Gospell is receyued in a triumph (as it were) of publique authority, there al worldly goods ought to supply to the Honor of our Sauiour, and the health of his seruants: so that they may be denied where they are proffered, and requested where they they are denied; according as the cause, the time, the place, & the people doe require. As for the seruants of Christ, they ought to be ready for all assayes: for honor and dishonor, good report and euill report, plenty and pouerty, life and death, for that they are to vse this world as not vsing it, the fashion whereof passeth away.

God vnder the old Testament framed to him selfe a peculiar cõmon wealth, the which although afterwards it might receiue diuerse formes of gouernement, yet he did alwaies so prouide for the honour of the Priesthood, that they alwaies retained that degree of dignity, which the Lord would haue them maintain among the people of God. God vnder the Gospell, hath impropriated no peculiar people, neyther hath he planted any certaine forme of gouernment: He sent vnto all nations preachers of the Gospell, priuate men, without any warlike accutrements. Them he appointed, not to alter any form of gouernment, least they might seeme to be sent, rather for the subuersion, then for the conuersion of the Gentiles. And yet this hindereth not, but that they may take vppon them a greater state, and better beseeming the worthines of theyr calling, where Religion it self is aduaunced by publique authority, and in wisedome is made the ground-work both of the lawes and the common wealth. In the old lawe, the Priests Honor was especially set downe, what, how great, after what sort, in what things it should consist. In the new Testament that limitation coulde not bee layd forth, because it could not (would they neuer so faine) be like it selfe, or the same, among all people, in all places, at all times. But as good christians doe take vn-

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to them ſelues many other imitable examples out of the old Teſtament, and the law of nature, and the orders of nations, by the which they may the better be brought vnto a ciuill conformity, and a conformable ciuility of life: ſo likewiſe ought we to doe in this caſe.

The minority & vnder-reckoning of the miniſtery, is not ſo held in the iudgements of thoſe chriſtians that haue their cõſciences acquainted with diuine cauſes, but in the ſight of carnall profeſſors, and the cenſure of the Churches enemies. All indifferent harts & eies may ſee and conceiue, that how much greater Chriſt is then *Moyſes*, and the Goſpel more excellẽt then the law, ſo much more honorable is the Euangelike miniſtery, then the Aaronicall Prieſthood; the which we are abundantly taught by the manifeſt arguments of the Apoſtle *Paul*, & we may very well learne by the manifold Sermons of our Sauiour Chriſt. Of old among the people of God it was, for good cauſe, held a great matter, for any man to be like vnto *Moyſes*, or *Elias*. For after the receite of the law, and his familiar conference with God in the mount, the face of *Moyſes* is ſayd to haue ben ſo radiant with paſſing all wonderous bright ſome rayes, that the eyes of the amaſed Iſraelites by no means might indure the Sun bright luſtre of his reſplendent countenaunce. After him was *Elias* no leſſe honored and renowmed, as well for his wonderfull acts, atchieued in the zeale of God his law, as alſo for his miraculous end, tranſlated aliue into the Paradiſe of Heauen. Notwithſtanding all this, the Apoſtle in his latter to the Corinthians doth learnedly maintaine, that the Miniſtery of *Moyſes* was of the letter, and of death, but the Miniſtery of the Goſpell, of the ſpirite and of life, and ſo much the more glorious. As for the reſt, our Sauiour himſelfe preferreth *Iohn* Baptiſt alone before all the Prophets, whom he affirmeth to be more then a Prophet, and yet he reſolueth, that the leaſt Miniſter of the Church is greater then hee. And therefore if Chriſt may be Iudge, the leaſt Miniſter of the loweſt degree in the Church, is more honorable & to be honored more in his office, then are any, or al the Prieſts of the old Teſtamẽt.

As for the low titles the Lord gaue to his Miniſters, for bid-

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ding the glorious insignes of honor, as of Lord, Father, and Doctor: I aunswere, that it was not done, that the Ministers should be of lesse honor among the people, then were of old the Priests & Leuits, or that they should be debased beneath all estates, & be of no esteem in a christian common wealth; but rather that they might retain a lowly & an humble conceit in so lofty & so honorable an estate. For vnlesse the Lord in wisdome should temper & keep vnder the ouer-weaning waiwardnes of mans nature, euen in his deareſt seruantes, Such is the excellency of the Ecclesiasticall calling, that the conceit thereof might easely ouercharge light mindes with lofty thoughts, & sodenly ouerturne rash heads into ruined estates. But as humility is taught them in their inglorious titles; so is their excellency taught vs by their magnificall statues. For are not these they which are called, the Salt of the earth, the Light of the world, Stars in the firmamét, Angels, and Legats, Stewards & dispensers of the mysteries of God, Ministers of the spirit of life? what and how great is that honor and power they haue receiued of the Lord, that they can binde and lose in earth, what things are bound and losed in Heauen; that they can remit and retaine sins? that they can open and shut the higheſt Heauen? Can there be any thing giuen to men more Honorable in this mortality?

As for the vse of those names, Doctor, Lord & Father, we will speake therof hereafter. Now, that I may determine this disputation, of those things we haue here set downe, I conclude, *That christian people are no lesse deuoted to their Pastors in al duty, then were of old the Israelites to their Priests and Leuits.* And, *Where christian religion is publikely authorised, that there the same degree of honor is to be giuen to the Ministers in the common welth, which was vsed to the Priests & Prophets among the people of God.* But if so be it so fall out, that among vngodly people & vngracious Magistrats, there be no reuerend regard had of this honor due to the Ministery, that there the professors be not offended therewith, seeing the worthines of ther Ministery is such, as that no iniury of man can any waies diminish it. For it becommeth them to be at this point with themselues,

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that if so be the honor due to their ministery be giuen them, they may reioyce in the religious godlines of the faithfull towards God: but if it be denied them, they may not grieue thereat, as if them selues had lost any thing. Neyther are they greatly to contend with the Magistrate for their right, especially at any intempestiue season: but they are to commit their causes vnto God, and with *Paul* to expect a more conuenient time to expostulate. In the mean while let them pray vnto God, that he would vouchsafe thē better mindes that would be accounted for good christians. The chief care of a faithfull Pastor must be this, to gaine many soules vnto Christ, not much riches, or many honors: First let them seek the kingdome of God, and al these things shalbe cast vppon them. Wherefore, seeing there are many parts of that honor which is due to the Minister, I will chiefely prosecute those, which the ciuil society of life doth require in a christian cōmon wealth, and that aboue all others, which consisteth in the maintenance of Ministers; a thing neuer so much in controuersie as at this day. Of the which we will first heare what was the opinion of those fathers which liued in time next after the Apostles.

Chap. XI.

The iudgement of the Fathers concerning the oblations of the faithfull.

I Wil first begin with *Origen*, who liued vnder *Seuerus*, about two hundred yeares after our Sauiour: Hee, vppon the eighteenth Chapter of Numbers, in his eleuenth Homily writeth thus. *It is behoueful, and it is also beneficiall, that first fruits should be offered vnto the Priestes of the Gospell: For so hath the Lord also ordained, that they which preach the Gospell should liue of the Gospell, and they which serue at the altar, should also be partakers of the altar. And as this is due & decent, so of the contrary part, I account it both vnmeete and vndecent, and vngodly also, that he which worshippeth God, and entreth into the Church of God, and knoweth that the Priests and Ministers do wait at the altar, and attend eyther vppon the word of God, or the*

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Miniſterie of the church, ſhould not offer vnto the Prieſtes the firſt things of thoſe fruits of the earth, which God hath giuen by bringing forth his Sonne, and ſending foorth his reine: Neither can I thinke ſuch a mind to bee mindfull of God, neither that hee thinketh or beleeueth, that God hath giuen the fruits he hath receaued: which hee ſo hordeth together, as if they were none of Gods. For if he beleeued they were giuen him of God, hee would alſo acknowledge, that in rewarding the Prieſts, he therby honored God for his gifts. And moreouer, that theſe things the better to be obſerued, may bee taught by the word of God, let vs heare what the Lord ſaith in the Goſpell. Wo be vnto you Scribes and Phariſes, yo hypocrites, which tythe Mint, that is, pay tythe of Mint, & Cummin, and Ane-ſeeds, and let paſſe the greater things of the Law: Hypocrites theſe thinges ought yee to haue done, and not to haue left the other vndone, &c. *The ſame authour proceedeth in the ſame booke.* How then dooth our righteouſnes exceede the righteouſnes of the Scribes and Phariſies, *if they dare not taſt of the fruits of the earth, before they haue offered the firſt fruits vnto the Prieſtes, and the tythes are ſet forth for the Leuits: and I, doing none of theſe things, doe ſo abuſe the fruits of the earth, as that the Prieſt knoweth not of them, the Leuite is ignorant of them, the altar of God doth not taſte of them.*

Ireneus the Scholler of *Polycarpus* in his fourth booke, the foure and thirtie chapter, writeth of the ſacrifices and oblations of Chriſtians, (the which thing hee alſo in many other places remembreth) whereby the cuſtome and opinion of the church at that time concerning that matter, may the beter appeare. The words of the holy Father are theſe: *Wherefore, we ought to offer to God the firſt fruits of his creaturs,* as Moſes *ſaith,* Thou ſhalt not appeare emptie in the ſight of the Lorde thy God: *that in what things a man hath ſhewed himſelfe thankfull, in thoſe things he which is deputed ouer him, might thankfully receaue that honour of him. And that kind of oblation is nam alloxed: For there were oblations there, and there are oblations heere alſo: There were ſacrifices among the old people, there are ſacrifices in the Church alſo: but the manner of them is onelye altered; ſeeing that nowe theſe are offered not of bond ſlaues, but of free-men. For*

there is one and the same Lorde, but there is a seuerall forme of seruile oblations, and a seuerall forme of them which are free, that euen by these oblations also there might appeare some token of our liberty. For there is nothing idle or endlesse with him, without some signe, or sense.

And for this cause indeed, they did consecrate theyr tenthes: but they which haue obtained their libertie, doe dedicate to the Lords vse, al things that they haue, chearfully & freely giuing those things which are of lesse account, hauing indeed a greater hope, that widowe and poore woman casting in heere all her substance into the Lord his treasurie, &c. Afterwardes in the same chapter, hee addeth this. *Wherefore, seeing the church offereth with singlenes; for iust cause is the gift thereof accepted as a pure sacrifice before God: Euen as* Paule *also writeth vnto the Philippians*: I was euen filled, after that I had receiued of *Epaphroditus* that which cam from you, an odour which smelleth sweete, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasant vnto GOD. *For wee ought to offer oblations vnto God, and in all things to be found thankefull vnto God our maker, offering the first-lings of those his creatures, in a pure mind and faith without hypocrisie, in a ferme hope and feruent loue. And this oblation, the church onely doth present pure vnto the Creator, offering vnto him of his owne creatures with thankes-giuing, &c.* And againe in the same chapter, *But we offer vnto him, not as hee needed our offerings, but to shew our selues thankefull vnto him for his bountie, and to sanctifie his creatures: For as God hath no neede of those th ngs which come from vs, so we haue need to offer some thing vnto God.*

Irenæus calleth Almes and oblations *good actions*, as also *Cyprian* calleth them *good workes*: *Paule* beeing their Author, who calleth them *good deedes* and *distributions*, and *good workes*, and *Sacrifices*, with the which God is wel pleased.

1. Tim. 6. 18. Tit. 3. 14. Heb. 13. 16.

Many other thinges of the like import, might bee cited out of the same Authour: But let vs attend vnto that of *Cyprian* in the like sense, the wordes some-what altered, who in his foure and thirtie Epistle writeth thus, of the Readers whome hee had ordained. Nowe you shall vnderstand, that wee haue appointed for them the honor of an Elder,

der, that they ſhould bee honoured with the ſame fees that the Elders are, and that they ſhould deuide the allowaunce for euerie moneth in equall portions. The fees which were deuided euerie moneth vnto the Prieſtes, hee calleth the honour of the Presbyterie. But out of his ſixtie Epiſtle, wee may alſo make ſome eſtimate, of what wealth the Church of *Carthage* was: namely, by a certaine contribution made by the Cleargie and layitie of that place. For there were collected no leſſe then an hundred ſeſtercees, which they ſent to the Biſhops of *Mauritania* to redeeme captiues: beeing alſo readie to ſend more, if need were. The wordes of *Cyprian* are theſe.

VVeehaue ſent vnto you an hundred ſeſtercees, which were gathered heere in the Church, ouer the which I am preſident by the fauour of God: the contribution beeng made by the Cleargie, and people that are amongſt vs: the which you ſhall diſpoſe there, according vnto your beſt indeuours. And in his ſixtie ſixe Epiſtle, he writeth thus: *The tribe of Leuie which attended vpon the Temple and Altar for diuine ſeruice, might receaue no portion of that deuotion, but while the reſt did husband the earth, they ſhould honor the Lord onely, and therfore for their liuing and allowance, they were to receaue tenthes of the eleuen Tribes, of thoſe fruites which did increaſe.*

That is 2500. ducates at the leaſt, or vnleſs that may ſeeme to great a ſum for that time 2500000

The which reaſon and order is now obſerued amongſt the Cleargie at this day, that they which in the Church of the Lord, are promoted vnto anie Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, ſhould by no meanes bee called away from their deuine function, neither ſhuld be intangled with troubles and worldlie affaires, but according vnto the honour of the maintained brethren, as they which receiue tenthes of fruits, ſhould not depart from the Altar and the ſacrifices, but daye and night ſhould attend vpon heauenly and ſpirituall buſines, &c. About the ſame time, there were maintained at *Rome* vnder *Cornelius* the Biſhop, ſixe and fortie Prieſts, ſeauen Deacons, ſo manie Subdeacons, as alſo two and fortie Seruaunts, Exorciſts, Readers and Doore-keepers, all togeather two and fiftie. Euſebius lib 6.25.

The number of the whole Cleargie was an hundred fiftie and

and fiue men, all the which no doubt, for the moſt part had their proper families: and yet beſides al theſe, the widowes and other which were afflicted, either with pouertie or infirmitie, were a thouſand and fiue hundred: all the which, as *Cornelius* himſelfe doth witnes in an Epiſtle to *Fabian* Biſhop of Antioch, the grace and bountie of the Lorde did aboundantlie releeue: and leaſt any man ſhould thinke that this was done penuriouſly or ſparingly, hee addeth, that ſo great a number of Miniſters, ſo great a multitnde of poore, by the prouidence of God were made rich, and abounding in all plenteouſnes.

The hiſtorie of *Laurence*, deacon of Rome, is ſufficiently knowen: whome the tyrants of that time held in ſuſpicion, that he had the cuſtodie of the church treaſure. And their ſuſpicion was true in part, for the church had treaſure; and in part it was falſe, for that it was not the maner of the church to lay vp, but to lay out the treaſure they had. By the which meanes, *Phillips* oblations alſo and donations to the church were repealed all to late: for the miniſterie of the Deacons by the handes of the poore, had there laid them vp, where neither ruſt nor moath, nor any caterpiller of the Church, could breake through and ſteale. Neither was this the leaſt praiſe of the churches of that age, that as they were priuatelie poore, ſo were they commonly rich, after the example of the church at Hieruſalem.

CHAP. XII.

That the church had no ſmall reuenues, and certaine places in the which they did celebrate their aſſemblies, before the time of Conſtantine.

THat profeſſed Chriſtians had farms & poſſeſsions, the increaſe whereof they diſtributed to the cleargy, & pouerty of the Church, the edicts of *Conſtantine* the great doe ſufficiently teſtifie. True it is, that vnder *Diocleſian*, the chriſtians were ſpoyled of al they poſſeſſed, either

ther priuatly, or in cómon: but the godly & christiã Emperor giueth in charge to the presidentes of the prouince, that those places in the which Christians did celebrate their assemblies, and all other things whatsoeuer they possessed, or any waies pertained to the right of their societie, should againe be restored vnto them. *Sabellicus* maketh mention of one *Lucina*, a noble and rich matrone, that was exiled by *Maxentius*, for that she had named the Church of Rome to be her heire. Enead.7.8.

Indeed it is to be acknowledged, that from the time of *Constantine*, the state of the Church was no wayes impaired, (neither doe I speake of the false and fained donations of *Constantine*) but this is a thing most certaine, that he was a bountifull Prince towardes the Church, and worthily renowned for his bountie. *Sozomenus* reporteth of *Constantine* his honorable liberalitie towards the Church of Christ; that of those grounds which in euerie Cittie were tributarie, hee reserued a certaine pension, which accustomably was wont to bee paide into the Exchequer, and distributed the same vnto the Churches and the Cleargie; the which his great & gratious larges, he afterwards ratified by law to stand good for euer. *Eusebius* in the life of *Constantine* witnesseth the same. Lib.1.8. De vita Cõstant.li.4.28

That therefore all men may vnderstand what the welth of the Church was in those times, I will produce a few presidentes of that age, and begin with that which *Augustine* hath left in recorde concerning his owne Church at *Hippon*. (For he was himselfe also of an honourable house, & of great wealth.) *I* (saith hee) *according to the common conceit of manie, which compare themselues with themselues, seeme not to haue come from wealth, but to haue come to wealth; for my fathers inheritance can hardly be reckoned the twentith part, in comparison of the churches reuenewes, the which nowe I am accounted to possesse as chiefe Lord.* Whence that Church had that great wealth, it is to bee seene in the same Epistle. Epist.225.

Prosper in his booke *De vita contemplatiua*, reporteth of *Hilarie* Bishop of *Arelat*, to his euerlasting praise, that hee

hed, did not only retain those things which the church then but that he did also inlarge the same, by the manifold heritages of the faithful which he receiued. Among *Basil* his epistles there is one whole one, which testifieth, that there were manie at that time which vsed to leaue by testament a great part of their inheritance vnto the Church, and some sometimes which did make free gift of all. But what neede I to stande vppon the manifolde reports of such thinges? The lawes of the Emperours, concerning this whole matter, are sufficiently knowne. Nay this one thing I would admonish the Reader, least at any time hee bee deceiued, when as manie times hee may reade in the Fathers, that the goods of the Church, are not onely the goodes of the Bishops, and the goodes of the Priestes, but the goodes of the poore also: I say, there hee shall but note, howe the auncient custome of the Church hath beene disordered, through auarice and hypocrisie. When all the Church goodes of euerie Dioceese were in common vnto all the Church-men of the same territorie, to bee diuided to euerie Church-man according to the discretion of the Bishop; then was that saying in force: *The goodes of the Church are the goodes of the poore*: Not that the whole substance of the Church was to be consumed vppon the poore, but because the fourth part therof was their due by right. For the first part was for the Bishop himselfe: the second, for the other Church-men: the third, for the Church workes: the fourth, for releeuing the poore, and redeeming the captiue.

But when as by reason of the manifolde inconueniences, which did dayly arise by meanes of this communitie, and the great multitude of Churches which now began to bee euerie where erected and set vp throughout the countrie, and indowed with peculiar commodities, they began to depart from this communitie, by a secrete consent (as it were) of the whole world, and so, that certain portions were designed for the Bishops allowance; others also, for the other Priests and Ecclesiasticall persons which were in ordinarie residence in euery Cathedrall Church; and last of all

other,

other, Prieſtes alſo were ordained by the Biſhops euerie where through the cuntrie, ouer pariſh Churches with ſtanding titles, who were by that meanes called to a perticular part of the cómon charge with the Biſhop (leaſt that which was to bee cared for by all, ſhould bee neglected of euerie one) (as it commonly commeth to paſſe) there is no doubt (had none of the Church goodes beene taken from the Cleargie) but by this meanes the poore and needie ſhould haue beene much better prouided for by the ſeueral Cleargie-men of euery particular territorie, then when the fourth part of the remaines of the Church goodes were imployed to their vſe in common; and that alſo with more eaſe, and much leſſe murmure. But the trumperie, not the pouertie of the Church, Munkes and Nunnes, and ſuch others, which were called religious perſons, purloyning that fourth part vnder the title of Euangelike pouertie, which they profeſſed, haue vtterly robbed both the Cleargie and the pouertie, and haue brought in a ſtraunge and wonderfull diſorder into the auncient ordering of Church goodes; ſo that, that part which of olde was due vnto the poore, is now in the winding vp deuolued to the rich: that I may omit the manifold abuſes of Impropriations, and Commendams, & ſuch other ſhifting ſacrilegious titles.

Ambroſe in his thirtie and one Epiſtle, the fift booke: *The poſſeſsions* (ſaith he) *of the Cleargie, are the prouiſions of the needie: and therefore let the Churches keepe reckoning of this*, how many captiues they haue redeemed, how many poore they haue refreſhed, how many exiles they haue harbored. *For the Church hath golde, not to purſe, but to diſburſe, and to releeue the neceſsities of the needie; What profite is it to keepe that which profiteth not? Auguſtine* alſo in his treatiſe vppon *Iohn*, the one and twentith chapter, diſputeth of that right which the Apoſtles and Miniſters haue by the worde of GOD, to receyue carnall things of them, vnto whom they miniſter ſpirituall things: *They giue gold* (ſaith he) *and they receyue graſſe.* And in his tenth Tome, there is extant no leſſe then a whole Homilie, concerning the paying of tythes as of dutie.

Hierome also in his third chapter vpon *Malachie*, amongst other thinges which concerne this opinion, hath these wordes: *That which we say of tythes and first fruits, which of olde were giuen of the people to the Priestes and Leuites, vnderstand yee also to concerne the people of the Church, who are commaunded not onely to pay tythes and first fruites, but also to sell all that they haue, and giue to the poore, and to follow the Lord. The which so great a matter if we will not performe, yet at the least let vs imitate the beginnings of the Iewes, that wee may giue part of all vnto the poore, and affoord the Priests and Leuites their* due honour. *For which cause the Apostle sayth*; Honour the widdowes, which are true widowes: *And*, That the Elder is to bee honored with double honour, especially he which laboureth in worde and doctrine: *the which duties who so now will not performe, hee is proued thereby to defraude and supplant God himselfe, and hee is cursed therefore of God in the penurie of all things: so that he which soweth sparingly, shall reape sparingly, and hee which soweth liberally, shall reape liberally, &c.* Many other thinges of like sort may wee read in that place to this sense. But if I should repute vnto you whatsoeuer the Fathers haue written of this argument; I should but repeate the same things, and be tedious to the Reader in a matter of no controuersie.

Chap. XIII.

A distinction of Church goods.

THe goods of the Church are not all of one sort: for there are some which consist in the oblations of the people; some, in proper possessions; some, in rents and reuenewes; some, in lawfull fees and ancient roialties. Al the which are commonly distinguished into two seuerall kinds: whereof some are called *Spirituall*, and some accounted *Temporal*. But seeing these tearmes do neyther so fitly, nor yet so fully expresse the nature

ture of these things, more proper words were to be deuised by more perfect Ciuilians. For vnto that which is *Temporall*, there is nothing in nature opposite, but that which is *Eternall*: and to that which is *Spiritual*, nothing is contrary, but that which is *Carnal* or corporal. They therefore speak more aptly of these thinges, who for the worde *Temporall*, vse the words *Ciuil* and humane: and for *Spiritual*, the words *Sacred* holy, and diuine. Now albeit, that ought generally to be accounted holy & sacred, whatsoeuer is consecrated to God, and his Ministerie; yet notwithstanding, they cal oblations (because they more nearely concerne God and his seruice) more properly *sacred and diuine thinges*; not so much for distinction sake, as for that the condition and proprietie therof is such. But *humane and ciuil goods*, they account the fields and possessions of the Church; for that in nature and condition they are not vnlike vnto those, which other Citizens possesse, and are therefore giuen vnto the Cleargie, that not onely in the Church, but also in the common-wealth, they may be of good estate, and wel able to maintaine the credit of the place and person they sustaine: the which by no good meanes they can be able to vphold, if in worldly welth they be so curtold, and kept so thread-bare, as that they cannot be in case to be as bountifull as other men. Great matters are looked for at the hands of the Cleargie; as hospitalitie, releeuing the poore, and such other thinges, which Christ himselfe not onely taught, but in person performed in some good sort. And is it not a shame for a Bishop to exhort others vnto charitie towards the poore and needie, and himselfe neither to put the same in practise, nor yet to be able?

But least any man should thinke, that this distinction came out of the Popes Mint, and therefore to bee reiected; he shal vnderstand by those things we haue now cited, that it is the Fathers, the autentike Fathers. *Ambrose* in his Epistle *de tradendis basilicis*, maketh mention of the collations of the people, and the fields which the Church possessed. Wherefore the gifts and oblations of the faithfull, which they offer of their owne accord, are to be accounted holy goods, *gifts sacred.*

sacred and diuine: becauſe in that caſe the chiefe reſpect is not of man, but of God. Vnder this kinde we compriſe the paiment of tenthes and tythes alſo: albeit there bee great difference betwene thoſe tythes, which eyther now the people pay of their owne voluntarie, not conſtrained, or haue of olde religiouſly vndertaken by a lawe impoſed vpon themſelues and their poſteritie, to pay vnto the Miniſters; & thoſe tythes which Princes gaue vnto them, and laid out for them by their Iniunctions. For wee muſt vnderſtand thus much alſo, that tenthes haue beene paide of olde, not onely to the Prieſtes, but vnto the chiefe Magiſtrate alſo. Haue wee not heard of certaine tributes wont to bee paid to the common treaſurie, which afterwardes were giuen by the Emperour *Conſtantine* vnto the Churches? Namely, for that albeit the ſuperſtition of the Gentiles were in many places put down by publike authoritie; yet the Nobles and richer ſort, with the greater part of the people, hauing not forthwith receyued the faith of Chriſt, the bare oblations of the faithfull, (althogh bountiful) were not ſufficing to relieue the poore, and to maintaine the ſtate of their Paſtors. So that vnleſſe I quite loſe mine ayme, thoſe tributes were eyther tenthes or tithes.

For there is nothing better knowne, then that the Romanes impoſed the paiments of tenthes, vpon thoſe prouinces they conquered: and what proportion could they more fitly giue vnto profeſſed Churches, then the tenthes of thoſe they conquered? This example did *Charles* the great follow, who hauing ouercome the *Saxons*, and hauing put to flight their King *Windekind*, hee commaunded tenthes to be paid vnto him: part whereof the Biſhops and other Paſtors of the Church had, and part the Kinges officers alſo receiued.

As for the coniecture of *Crantz* in his *Metropolis*, who thinketh that tenthes were giuen vnto Nobles in fee, by the Biſhops, I cannot for my part allowe thereof: ſeeing it ſo euidently appeareth out of the approued Annalies, that thoſe tenthes were receyued of the Kinges Officers before there

there were any Bishops, and whereas yet there were none. But whereas tythes seemed not to suffice the state of the Cleargie, the godly Prince, of a religious and wise purpose, added glebes and landes vnto the vse of the Church. For indeed that wilde Nation, tamed onely by force & armes, receiued the Christian Religion for feare, but in affection were so estraunged from it, that they would sooner suffer the Bishops, and those preachers which the Emperour sent vnto them, rather to sterue among them, then to thriue by them.

But who so desireth to reade more of this matter, may reade *Crantz* his Metropolis, and the Saxon Chronicles. In the meane while, wee haue thus learned, that those tenthes and tythes, which no religion of the Christian people, but the liberalitie of the religious Magistrate hath giuen vnto the Church, were properly to bee accounted among the Churches, *Ciuill goodes*. But when as at this day they are so intermingled, that the manner of their first donations is not known, for good cause they are now called by the more certaine and the more singular part of them, and are therefore accounted among those Church goods, which are not ciuill, but sacred and diuine.

As for those goods of the Church which wee distinguish by the name of *ciuill* goods and *humane*, they may be distinguished into the possession of such fearms and rents, which the Church had euen vnder heathen Emperors before *Constantine*; and into the possession of such fees and mannors, which vnder the Christian Magistrate haue annexed vnto them some ciuil iurisdiction. The which, because some contend that no Ecclesiasticall person ought to inioy, wee are in like manner to examine that matter, the rather, for that there are some which thinke, they ought rather to liue of other mens Almes.

Chap.

Chap. XIII

That the Pastors of churches are not maintained of almes, but of the due reward of their labours.

SOme haue beene of opinion (you will very hardly beleeue it) (neither doe I their opinion) that our blessed Lorde and his Apostles did not onely liue very bare, but verie beggers: and therefore that the Ministers of the Church ought to liue of meere almes, according vnto their godly example. But the law of God defieth this errour, and forbiddeth the whole trade of begging among his people. Neither doe wee read, that the Lord at any time repealed this lawe; and sure we are, that there haue beene alwayes extant among vs certaine lawes of the Emperours also against vpright beggers.

Almes are giuen for pittie sake to helpe and cheare the needie: but whatsoeuer is giuen as a testimonie of any vertue, is eyther a stipend for certaine paines taken, or a present for a certaine reuerence conceiued (albeit the party be poore vnto whom it is performed.) When the Lord therefore sent forth his Disciples to preach, hee gaue them a commission to take vp their mainteinance of them to whome they preached: and hee therefore compared them to labourers, and their stipend to a reward, not to an almes; which being due, is to be charged, and discharged as of right. Whereby the nature of those things which the godly did contribute vnto the Lord his vse, and his Apostles, is easely vnderstood to be of the condition, not of almes, but of fees. Euen as the offerings, and certaine parts of the sacrifices were alotted to the Priests, not as free almes, but as the fruites of their labours: so the godly Pastors doe receiue of the faithfull people, not a doale, but a duetie; the one beeing of right, the other of meere pittie. If any man vrge, that the sense of this worde

Almes

Almes, doth extend it selfe more largelie amongst learned Diuines, & that it is taken for all kind of beneuolence which is shewed for Gods cause vnto the benefit of our neighbor: Howe truly they so affirme, I leaue that to them which are but meanely seene in the Greeke tongue.

In the meane while, I will not sticke with them for so much as this commeth to, that in such a sense, those thinges which are giuen to the Church for the benefite of the Ministers, may bee called *Almes* also: this alwaies reserued, that they still differ white and blacke from those almes, with the which the poore are releeued. For what haue they deserued? You remember where I sayd, that there is no other law imposed vpon the Minister by the Lord, then vnto the rest of the faithfull (excepting onely the condition of their function.) Neither doth any man doubt, that the faithfull are forbidden by any religion, to become the free tenaunts of their Princes.

But as for the lawes and conditions which perticularlie concerne the estate of Ministers, there is not any one which inhibiteth them to vse the benefite of Princes, and to be deuoted to them, as far as other Citizens. Ouer and besides all this, the Euangelique precepts are in no case an excuse vnto the right of nations, or the equity of *Moses* law: but they all (and all the worlde shall witnes the same) haue appointed for the Priests and sacred Ministers, both fields and farmes and other ciuill estates. And can they by any law, or equity be sequestred from the generall priuiledges of all cittizens, which are to liue now among citizens, and to sustaine vnder the same Magistrate the same burdens of the commonwelth with other Cittizens?

And hath not God himselfe commaunded by his law, that there should be giuen vnto the Priests and Leuites, not onely tythes and offerings, but Cities also, with their towns and teritories? Or had they any lesse authority ouer these their townes and Citties, then had the other Tribes ouer their Citties and fields which fel vnto them by lot? The Gospell beeing receaued by publique authority, the Lord hath

no where forbidden the Miniſters of the Goſpell to poſſeſſe fields and farmes after the ſame manner, neither hath hee inhibited that anie ſuch realties ſhould bee giuen them to poſſeſſe. But is it poſsible there ſhould bee any ſo baſe, and bad minded towards religion, that he could once wiſh the Miniſters thereof to be of worſe eſtate in a chriſtian ſociety, then were of olde the Prieſtes and Leuites in the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*? It is well knowen, that Miniſters hauing to conuerſe in a ciuill ſocietie, had neede alſo of thoſe helpes which are requiſite in a ciuill ſociety, & may reconcile them into fauor, and maintaine them in authority with the common people, as wiſedome and wealth eſpeciallie: Seeing that whoſoeuer hee bee that neglecteth either of theſe, can by no meanes liue, and liue well in a ciuill ſocietie.

The wiſe man in his Eccleſiaſtes the ſeuenth chapter, hath verie well noted the practiſe of this: *For wiſedome is good* (ſaith he) *with an inheritaunce, and the excellencie of them which ſee the Sunne, becauſe that man ſhall reſt in the ſhadowe of wiſedome, and the ſhadow of ſiluer:* And indeed, vppon theſe two pillers doth reſt the chiefe ſtrength and ſtay of a ciuill life. There is one kind of life which is publique, and in the common proſpect of men, and hath neceſſarilie to doe with men of all ſortes: and there is an other kinde of priuate and priuie life, vnder an heathen Magiſtrate, full of danger; ſo that, there hee is to deale as wel with Magiſtrates as with priuate men: heere, he may well deale with none at all. I ſay in this caſe there is no compariſon to be made of theſe two kinds betweene themſelues, that without diſtinction wee ſhould make the like condition of the Miniſters life in all places, and ſubiect vnto the like conditions.

CHAP.

Chap. XV.

Of those Lands which are held in fee, and haue annexed with them anie ciuill authoritie and iurisdiction.

AND that which maketh all the doubt for those Landes which are helde in fee by the Church, is this, that manie times they haue annexed with them some Ciuill iurisdiction and Knights seruice. The which thing is forbidden the Pastors of the Church by the lawes of the Church; vnto whome also the power of the sword seemeth to bee forbidden by the Lord himselfe.

The ancient Canons, which are accounted the Apostles, allow not a Bishoppe to be busied in the seruice of warre, or anie ciuill function. The sixt Canon standeth thus, *A Bishop Priest, or Deacon, shall not take vppon him anie worldlie cares, neither shall hee defile himselfe with such.* *Cyprian* also in an Epistle vnto the Priestes of *Furnam*, writeth against one *Victor*, for that he made one *Geminus Faustinus* ouer-seer of his last wil, and forbiddeth them that there should bee anye oblation made amongst them for his death. His wordes are these. *The Bishoppes our predecessours, religiouslie considering, and prouidentlie fore-casting of thinges, enacted, that no brother departing this life, should appoint anie Clearke to be his guardian or supra-visor: and if anie so did, there should bee no offering for him, neither should anie Sacrifice be celebrated for his departure: Neither indeed doth he deserue to bee once named in the praier of the Priestes, at the Altar of God, who sought by all meanes possible to with-draw the Priests & Ministers from the Altar of God.*

These decrees of the reuerend Fathers, are confirmed by that example of the Apostles, who sequestred themselues from the ouer-sight of the poore, which not-

withstanding is a godlie and a religious action, and resigned that charge vnto other godlie men, least themselues should bee with-drawen from the ministerie of the woorde, which thing chiefly was impoſed vpon them by the Lord. Moreouer, for so much as pertaineth vnto *Knights seruice*, or anie other ciuill function, the foure-score and second of the Canons, which are called the Apostles; decreeth thus: *The Byshoppe, Priest, or Deacon, that giueth himselfe vnto war-fare, and will occupie himselfe, both in the Romaine regiment, and also in the Ecclesiasticall gouernement: let him be diuested. Giue vnto* Cæsar, *those thinges which are* Cæsars, *and vnto God those thinges which are Gods.*

The councell of *Chalcidon* in the seuenth Canon the fifteenth action, hath laid a curse also vppon those that dare presume to doe these things. The wordes of the Canon are these.

VVee doe decree, that those which are once ordained in the Cleargie, (as also all Monks) shall neither come vnto anie militarie seruice, or to anie secular promotion. But they which dare do these things, and do not with repentance returne to that, of the which they made their first choyce for Gods cause; they are accursed. To these Canons wee maye adde the conditions of the fees themselues, the which are such, as by them all manner free-tenure is taken away from the Cleargie, and companie of Moonks: For a fee is defined by the Lawyers, to bee a *Militarie seruice.* But seeing the lawes of the Church doe forbid Church-men and Moonkes, to exercise anie Militarie seruice, they cannot by any right, either receiue, or retaine the benefite of that seruice.

CHAP.

Chap. XVI.

That Biſhops and other Paſtors of the Church, are not forbidden to be Lords of fees, & ſometimes to vndertake ſecular and ciuill charges.

TO the former obiections I firſt aunſwere, according to that I haue already proued. as well by the lawes of the firſt chriſtians, as by the teſtimony of the ancient fathers, that the Church long before *Conſtantine* his time had both fields and farmes, the commons and commodities pertaining to the ſame. But is there now any other reaſon, why Eccleſiaſticall perſons may not alſo hold the ſame in fee (if they be giuen in fee) as well as did of old theſe Prieſts and Leuits, thoſe Townes and Cittyes which they receiued of theyr brethren? As for thoſe Canons before cited, I aunſwere and affirme, that we allow, nor Elder nor Biſhop to be detained, or withdrawen with ſecular cares from theyr ſpiritual function any further, then may be beneficial to the Church and common wealth, or may ſatiſfie the neceſſity of our chriſtian neighbour. That the charge of domeſtique ſecular affaires is here forbidden by any Canō, that a man ſhould neglect his own family, vnto whom he is bound by the right of alyaunce or affinity; nor godly charity, nor chriſtian faith, will ſuffer vs ſo to thinke: But that the charge of a Lordſhip or Mayrolty or ſuch like, that a Biſhop ſhould be Conſul in the field, Maior of a Towne, Clarke of the market, Chamberlaine to the King, or Factor for the ſtate, and ſuch like, we hold them to bee forbidden by that ſixt Canon, and we vtterly renounce the ſame.

To the foureſcore and ſecond Canon, I aunſwer and affirme, that ſeruice of war is forbidden by the ſame, not that which is *neceſſary*, but that which is *voluntary*. Vppon which ground I hold this for a ſure principle, that that Prieſthood

or Bishop doth both against the honor and the honesty of the sacred ministery, whosoeuer without commaund of supreme autority, or constraint of extreme necessity, shal take vppon him any seruice of war, eyther as leader or as souldier. But when such time and places betide, as shall exact this at our handes, we are vnwillingly to yeeld to vnwelcome necessity.

Theodoret in his second Booke the third chapter, writeth of one *Iames* Bishop of the Citty of *Nisib*, (which of som is called Antioche Migdon) that he was vppon occasion both Bishop and *Captaine* of the same his Citty, the which by the helpe of God he manfully defended against *Sapor* King of *Persia*, and deliuered the same as well with his prowes, as his prayers. The same *Theodoret*, in his fourth booke the twelfth Chapter, recordeth as much and much more, of the warlike power and prowes of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Samosis*, who mannaging himselfe with all manner warlike abilements, ranged along throughout *Syria*, *Phenicia*, and *Palestine*, wher he erected Priests and Deacons, and performed such other Eccesiasticall pensions. Neyther did I euer read of any that found himselfe offended with this action, or thought his action offended against that Canon. I doe not so thinke (nor will I say so much) of *Theophilus* and *Cyrillus* Bishops of *Alexandria*, who tooke vppon them a secular principality ouer that Citty, the Emperour not noting it, but not commaunding it.

As for the Canon which *Cyprian* citeth, I must needs confesse that I cannot attayne vnto the reason thereof, onely this I am assured of, that it was but a particular and a prouinciall decree, seruing onely for that time and that place. For no doubt, to take charge of Widowes and Orphanes, is an especiall worke of piety, and commaunded of God in euery place of his Lawe: and so, that they incurre no small blame, that deferre to take vppon them not the patrimony, but the patrociny of such.

For good cause therefore was the old custome continued in the Chuch, that Bishops should be the patrons of Widowes,

dowes, and the Fathers of Orphanes, and that they eſpecially before all others, were to take charge of them without any ſhame to theyr calling, without any breach of the Canons. You ſhall heare how the Councell of *Sardis* doth allowe and recommend the ſame in plaine wordes. For this is the ſpeeche which *Oſiris*, then Biſhop there, made. Much importunity and too much confluence, with vnlawful ſutes, hath brought the matter to this paſſe, that we haue not ſo much either fauor, or credit committed vnto vs; whiles there are ſome, which ceaſe not to repayr to the Court of the Biſhop, (and eſpecially they of *Africa*) who (as we know) reiect and contemn the wholeſome directions of our moſt holy brother and fellow Biſhop *Gratus*. Who do not only preſent diuers and ſundry matters not materiall to the Church, (as many times it commeth to paſſe) that widows, orphans, and the poore might be ſuccoured, but they doe further craue for certaine ſecular dignities, and ciuill offices. This bad order therefore ſtirreth vp not onely much muttering, but many offences alſo. Notwithſtanding, this is a commendable thing, that Biſhops ſhould be a meanes for thoſe which are oppreſſed with wrongfull violence, (as if ſo bee a widow be moleſted or an orphan defrauded) and yet ſo, that theſe parties haue ſome iuſt cauſe of complaint, and ſome honeſt petition to præſent. Wherefore, if it ſo pleaſe you (my beloued brethren) let this be a decree, that Biſhops come not to the Court, except happely they, whom the Religious Emperour ſhall by his letters inuite. But becauſe oft times it commeth to paſſe, that they which ſuffer wrong, flye to the Church for ſuccour, and they alſo which doe wrong, and are adiudged therefore to ſome ile, or exile, or in deede what ſentence of iudgement ſoeuer they receiue, they ought here to be relieued, and without al doubt their pardon to be craued: Therefore if it ſo pleaſe you, as I haue ſayd, ſo let it bee decreed. They all gaue a *placet*, and let it be enacted. This Canon containeth a certaine expoſition of the ſixt Canon of the Apoſtles, and it teacheth vs what ſecular cares a Biſhop, or a Prieſt may vndertake, and what not. The

Biſhops

Biſhops in this point were imitators of their Fathers the Prophets, which alwayes gaue their helping hand to widdowes, orphanes, and other afflicted people. Doe we not read how fatherly and friendly the Prophet *Eliæus* greeteth
2. Reg. 4. the *Sunamite* after his entertainement? *VVhat wouldeſt thou that I ſhould doe for thee? is there any thing to be ſpoken for you to the King, or to the Captaine of the hoſt?* Nor neede this ſeem to any man any ſuch a ſtrange duety of religion, that Biſhops (or other Miniſters) ſhould repaire to Princes, to intreate for the diſtreſſed.

Ambroſe vndertaking an honorable Embaſſee for *Valentinian* the Emperour (being yet a child) to *Maximus* the tyrant, ſpake thus in his caſe (as himſelfe reporteth to *Valentinian* in an Epiſtle) *VVhom* (ſayth he) *ought Biſhops rather to defend, then orphanes?* For it is written, *Iudge the cauſe of the fatherleſſe, and defend the widow, and deliuer him that ſuffereth wrong:* and in an other place: *Ye Iudges of widowes, and fathers of fatherleſſe.* As for that which is vrged from the example of the Apoſtles, ther is no childe ſo ſimple ſo to conceiue therof, as if when the Apoſtles had once choſen Deacons, the care of the poore and the widow did no more pertayne to them. I noted before, how the neceſſity of the poore was commended to *Paul* and *Barnabas* after that: and we reade how *Paul* alſo caried the beneuolence of the *Corinthians* and other Churches, to *Hieruſalem*. Wherefore, to conclude, if it be lawfull (as it is) for biſhops and Paſtors, and that according to the rules of charitye, to imploye their labour in outward affaires, and to detract ſome what from that time, which otherwiſe were to be ſpent in reading of holy writ, and other ſacred trauels, and that onely for our priuate neceſſities, or our neyghbours: what labour ſhall we thinke too much, or what paines not to be performed in the commendable affaires of the King or common wealth, for a publique neceſſity, and a greater commodity?

Chap.

Chap. XVII.

What a fee is, and what are the conditions thereof.

NOw it remaineth that I make answere for those Church goods which are held in *Fee*, of which terme before the irruption of the more barbarous nations into the Romain Empire, there was no wher any mention: that phrase taking his original frō the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Longobards*. What may be the etimology thereof, and what is signified thereby, the learned at large discourse, & discusse: whose iudgements and opinions it were now too long to repeate. But for our purpose this is enough, and this is a cleare case, that a *Fee* with the Lombards, doth signify a priuiledge or an especiall benefite with the Latines: so that a Fendotarye with them is the same that a free Tenant is with vs, who holdeth by fealty and homage onely.

But a *Fee* is defined among the Lawyers diuers waies: First, that it is a military seruice imposed and vndertaken vppon this condition, that the tenant for the benefite receiued performe his seruice in warre, and therein shewe his fealty and fidelity to his patrone and his benefactor. (By which we may vnderstand, what was the original of tenures in *Fee*.) Notwihstanding, for as much as there are some fees which are not military, neyther stand vppon knights seruice, this may serue for a more generall definition, that, a *Fee* is a benefite, or a priuiledge giuen vnto some man vppon this condition, that he which receyueth the benefite, shall in lieu thereof performe some duty or seruice, as a testimony of his thankefulnes. But here there are three things of necessity to be obserued: the *Persons*, the *Things*, and the *Right*. The *Persons* are the *Lord*, and the *Vasall* (that I may so speake with the Feudist) betweene whom the seruice is contracted: The which for the most part in deede is military or knights

ſeruice; I ſay, for the moſt part, becauſe of the Eccleſiaſtike or church ſeruice. But the *Thing* is the matter & ſubſtance of the benefite receiued, as fields, fermes, iuriſdictions, immunities, courts, or whatſoeuer elſe is held in *Fee*. But laſt of all, the *Right* accrueth from theſe both: For the *Fee* in reſpect of the Lord, is a benefite giuen to the *Vaſall*, vpon that condition that he ſhould recogniſe the autor therof in ſome kind of ſeruice; but in reſpect of the *Vaſall*, the *Fee* is the right of vſing and manuring another mans thing, vpon that condition, that ſome ſeruice of duety, and teſtimony of his fealty be due for the ſayd thing. But now is there any of theſe three, more croſſe or contrary to the calling and condition of Miniſters, then of other Chriſtians? But that it may the more plainely appeare what is the nature of the whole matter, and what therein is repugnant to the ſtate of a Miniſter, we will more diligently examine the particulars of theſe pretended Fees.

Chap. XVIII.

A diſtinction of Fees.

THis title of *Fees* is many waies deuided: but that which maketh for the preſet purpoſe is this. Of *Fees* ſom are meere *Ciuill*, ſome are *Military*. The ciuill *Fee* is againe ſub-deuided into an Eccleſiaſticall or *Church Fee*, or a temporall or *Lay Fee*. In the nature of *Eccleſiaſticall* or Church Fees, are our Parſonages, our Biſhoprickes, Archbiſhoprickes, Abbies, and ſuch like, which are giuen to hold in free tenure by the Princes Scepter. In the manner and nature of *Ciuill* Laye Fees, are thoſe ſecular dignities and ciuil offices of the common wealth, as Lieutenancies, Mairolties, Conſulſhips, and ſuch like: of the which we doe not purpoſe in this place to make any particular diſcourſe. It ſufficeth for this time, that we haue noted, howe all *Fees* are not giuen for military

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dueties, neyther doe all hold vppon *Knights* seruice. Moreouer this also is most manifest, that the lawes of *Fees* haue often times altered, and the nature with the lawes, so that ther is nothing more variable then that title: And, that the whole matter dependeth vppon certaine customes, and the vncertaine pleasures of the *Lords*, who vppon any condition, or without any condition (if it please them) may freely giue the things they haue, to be held and vsed.

In deed the first occasion of *Fees* was *Knights seruice*: that the Prince might alwayes haue a sufficient host, & Captains competent for the defence of the common wealth: So that *Fees* no doubt in the beginning were no other thing, but stipēds for war, not hereditary but temporary, & not vnlike to Princes annual pensions at this day. And then no question, neyther young children, nor youthes vnder the age of fourteen were capiable of those Fees, nor generally any, whosoeuer was not apt & able for seruice of war; & yet we see after wards how they were made *Hereditary* also, so that in many places they now differ litle or nothing, from ordinary inheritance. Whereby we may see, that those lawes & conditions of *Fees*, which determine that a Clerke is no hable person to hold in *Fee*, are to be vnderstood no other wise thē of *knights Fee*. In the which notwitstanding, if it seeme good to the Lord of the *Fee*, to alter the law thereof (as he iustly may by his absolute authority) he may also graunt the same *Fee* vppon any condition, vnto the Church in generall, or to anye of the cleargy in particular. In the meane while, those Lawes which serue to restrain cleargy men from these Fees, do in like manner by the same reason exclude women and children, and young men, and old men, and all men that are not fit for military seruice: Who when as at this day they are notwithstanding admitted; what reason, that Clergy men alone, should be excepted? For they also may performe by an other man, or supply with another duety, that duety of Chieualry (if it be a duty) as wel as womē & boies: wherfore, seeing that at this day the Pastors and Prelats of the church, doe liue vnder the same Magistrat, & the same lawes, neither

do challenge vnto themselues any peculiar immunity from the burdens of the common wealth, any otherwise then other Cittizens; surely to depriue them of the like benefits, or to depose them from the like priuiledges with other cittizens, is an action no lesse odious to al, then iniurious to thē. But as of old for good cause it seemed necessary to them which had the chiefe place in the common wealth, to giue lands and Lordships in *Fee* to their Nobles and noble warriours for military attendance, and the peaceable continuance of the common wealth: so also did they take it no lesse necessary, and as great reason for them to giue vnto Pastors and Bishops in the like name and nature of *Fees* both towns and towres, and parkes, & woods, and pooles, and fishings, and fermes, and fields, and tenths, and tithes, for the sacred ministery of Gods Church, and the reuerend administration of things sacred, thereby to aduance the honor, and support the worthines of that most honorable & heauenly calling.

As for those things which the Bishops and other Ecclesiastical persons in England, doe hold in *Fee*, they are for the most part of that nature, as that they require no military seruice: for they are giuen in *Franke almoigne* (as they terme it) and yet notwitstanding, all ancient Bishopricks haue freely graunted many *Fees* and such like tenures, vnto theyr Tenants in fee, to hold in *Knights seruice*: Who by this means doe performe vnto the kings of England, as well military, as other necessary seruices in the Bishops behalfe: by the which the Bishops are enlarged and set free from them.

Chap. XIX.

An aunswere to the obiection, That ciuil iurisdiction, outward pompe and honors which are annexed with these fees, doe not agree with the simplicity of the Euangelike ministery.

IF any man obiect, that these tenures in fee, are accompanied with certaine Royalties, ciuill iurisdictions, secular titles, honors and retinewes, in which thinges

thinges, the auncient Nobilitie are an ornament vnto the King and the Countrey : and therefore not agreeable vnto the ſimplicitie of the miniſterie: which thing the Lord him ſelfe taught, as well by expreſſe doctrine, as eſpeciall example: Becauſe indeede ſuch thinges they doe but intangle a man in extearne vanities, and ſolicite their heartes with the cares of this world, in the which it becommeth a Biſhop to be ſecure.

And furthermore, for that the Lord himſelfe beeing requeſted to ſit but as arbiter betweene two brethren, denied the ſame. And againe, when the Apoſtles made the queſtion, which of them ſhould bee the greateſt, hee made aunſwere and ſayd: *The Kings of the Gentils raigne ouer them, and they which beare rule ouer them are called gracious Lordes: but yee ſhall not be ſo, but he that is greateſt amongſt you, let him be as the leaſt, and he which is Prince, as he which miniſtreth.* By which, the wordes and examples of our Sauiour wee are taught, that the Miniſtery of the Goſpell hath nothing common with the Common-wealth.

It may ſuffice for an anſwere vnto this obiection, which wee haue before noted: namely, that all this they talke of, hath his place in that eſtate, in the which, our Sauiour and his Apoſtles liued, not in that common-wealth, in the which the chiefe Magiſtrates acknowledge Chriſt Ieſus their chiefe Lord, and ſoueraigne King. For as the Magiſtrate is of an other calling now in the Church, then before he had: ſo is it reaſon, alſo that the ſeruaunts of the Lorde ſhould bee of better eſtate in the Common-wealth, then before they were.

The Magiſtrate, which before was an enemie and a perſecutour: (according vnto the propheſie of *Eſaias*) is become a Foſter-father of the Church, and a religious worſhipper of the Lorde Chriſt: vnder whome, were it not an abſurd thing, that the ſeruaunts of Chriſt ſhould haue no more honour, then vnder a perſecutor? But becauſe it is not ſet downe expreſſie in the Scripture, what, of what ſort, and how great the ſame ought to bee, many mens mindes are

heere at a maze, and some are of mind so to leaue it, as at a dead losse; and yet notwitstanding, the thing it selfe is not so hard to find out, and it is in his owne nature wel enough knowen, and that both by the written lawe of God, and the vniuersall censure of all nations: were it not for the awkewarde interpretation of those scriptures which I haue nowe cited.

Out of the which notwithstanding, there is nothing els directlie concluded, but that it is not any part of the Ecclesiasticall function, to intermedle in ciuil affaires, the which indeed is out of all controuersie. Neither is that the question: but whether the same man that is a Pastor, may not togeather with the ministery of the Gospell, bee lawfully imployed in politique affaires, for the benefite of the Church, and good of the Common-wealth. For when as the Minister of the church, is cittizen also of the common-wealth, he ought not thinke any thing not pertaining to him, that pertaineth to the Common-wealth: so that beeing lawfully called, hee may not vndertake some part of the ciuill estate. As for that which I lately cited concerning our Sauiour, who refused to be an arbiter, it is nothing to this question: For the spirite of Christ in the mouth of *Paul* doth plainly teach vs, that the meanest of the church, are good enough to iudge of earthlie causes, for that one day they shall iudge the worlde, yea, the Angels themselues: (a iudgement farre greater then this.) The which, seeing the Apostle affirmeth of any Christian: is it to bee thought, that onely Christ alone was no fit man to take vp a small matter betweene two brethren, if they both had bene content to stand vnto his iudgement? Wee cannot therefore imagine, that our Sauiour Christ simplye refused the office of an arbiter, but that hee denied himselfe to bee that iudge, which might command both parties to stand vnto his arbiterment.

And is not this then a slight testimonie, for to proue it not lawfull for a Bishop, (who is both a Cittizen, and a subiect) to exercise anye ciuill iurisdiction, the Magistrate so commaunding him? or to execute some other pension of

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the Common-wealth, (not abhorring altogeather from his profeſſion) beeing furniſhed with ſufficient authority to diſcharge it?

That the foure-ſcore and ſecond Canon commandeth him to be diſordered, who vndertaketh both Prouinces (the Eccleſiaſticall power, and the ſecular principality,) for my part, I ſay not againſt it: if ſo be that it bring no inconuenience vnto the Biſhoppes of the Church, and that it may bee done with the good leaue of the Prince, and without anie great hurt to the Church and Common-wealth. And therevpon we are alſo bolde to ſay, that *Theophilus* and *Cyrill*, Byſhops of *Alexandria*, tranſgreſſed that Canon: of whome *Socrates* reporteth, that of themſelues they tooke vnto themſelues the principality of that citty. In like manner doe the Biſhops of Rome, when as they improoue vnto themſelues thoſe things which are *Cæſars*. For when as they are the vaſſals and ſubiectes of the Emperour, they haue notwithſtanding extolled themſelues aboue their Lords, and aduanced the ſheepheardes croyſier aboue the royall ſcepter. But for thoſe Biſhops which vaile their bonnet to their Soueraigne, and obey their Princes in honeſt and godly things, there is not the like reaſon. And many things many times are done in the Common-wealth extraordinarilye, ſo that there can no lawe bee publiſhed or made, which it is not lawfull for to gain-ſay at ſome time or other, for the good of the Common-wealth.

Neither is the other example that they vrge, of anye force. For had our Sauiour meant to haue inthronized himſelfe in that earthly kingdome, (which he neuer ment) yet would hee haue refuſed that tumultuous courſe: For what power had that part of the people to annoint him King?

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

That it is lawfull for Bishops to heare ciuil causes, and to determine vpon them.

THat Bishops had to deale in ciuill causes, when as the parties submitted themselues to their iudgement, it is sufficiently known by the writings of the Fathers, & the works of *Iustinian*. The which, although it were a matter of no smal trouble vnto the godlie Bishops: yet the iniquitie many times of secular Iudges, their delayes, demurs and cauils in lawe were such, as that the Bishops of meere charity were moued vnto this labour. Neither are they therein to be so censured, as if they vsurped the place of the ciuill Magistrate: for they did it by the consent of the chiefe Magistrate: as it appeareth in the writings of *Iustinian* in his first booke *de Episcopali audientia*, the fourth title, where hee commaundeth, that there should be that reuerence giuen vnto their iudgement, which is due vnto the hiest powers: (from whome it is not lawfull to appeale) and more-ouer he commandeth that the execution of their iudgements, be done by his ciuil iudges.

By reason of the statute of *Præmunire* (as they call it) (against the which, whosoeuer offend, they are punished with perpetuall imprisonment, and the losse of all their goods) it is a matter of verie great daunger in England, for Churchmen to inuade the office of the ciuill Magistrates: and therefore, there is kept a most circumspect distinction betweene the affaires of the Ciuil, and the Ecclesiasticall Court. If at anie time anie of the Bishops (or anie other of the cleargie) are thought meet men to vndertake any ciuill charge, they doe it not by the especiall commaundement and commis-

sion

ſiō of the King, vnder the broad ſeale of England. But thoſe charges are alwayes accompanied with ſome honour, ſo that they may be accounted rather a help, then a hurt to the proceedings of the Goſpell: (as are the offices and dignities of a priuie Counſeller, a Commiſſioner, a Iuſtice of peace, and ſuch like.) Neither (as I doe thinke) will any man of ſound iudgement ſay, that thoſe charges are eyther impoſed vpon any Cittizen without the chiefe Magiſtrate, or if they be ſo impoſed, that they can of any man be depoſed, or laide aſide.

If any man except, that this is more abhorring from the office of a Biſhop, then was of olde the charge of the poore, from the which notwithſtanding the Apoſtles did abdicate themſelues, becauſe they could not attend vppon that, and their owne charge too: and therfore vrge, that it is not poſſible for Biſhops, that they ſhould diſcharge both charges well; for which cauſe they ought to ſequeſter themſelues from the one: I anſwer, firſt, that the Apoſtles did not ſo far foorth diſcharge themſelues of the poore mans boxe, that that they thought it not appertaining to them to haue any further care thereof: for they alwayes continued patrons of the poore, as doe the Biſhops alſo, whom we will not ſo intangle with ciuill cauſes, that they forſake their owne; but that, (as it eſpecially concerneth their office) vpright dealing, and ſincere charitie may bee maintained among them, whoſe ſoules health is committed vnto them. But how much a godly and diligent Biſhop may doe in this matter, *Auſtine* alone may ſerue for many examples, who wrote ſo many excellent volumes, when as yet he imployed no ſmall part of his time in theſe troubleſome affaires. Whoſe words I will heere infer, for that they inforce a ſufficient confutation of this their cauill: *I call the Lord Ieſus witneſſe to my ſoule* (ſaith hee) *in whoſe name I boldly ſpeake theſe thinges, that for ſo much as concerneth my commoditie, I had rather worke euerie day with my hands (as it is vſed in wel ordered Monaſteries) and reſerue the other houres free to read, and to pray, and to exerciſe my ſelfe in the Scriptures, then to ſuſtaine the tumultuous perplexities of other*

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mens causes, in determining secular controuersies by iudgement, or in taking them vp by arbitrement. To the which troubles the same Apostle hath appointed vs, not of his owne will, but of his that spake in him. The which notwithstanding we read not that he himselfe susteined; for indeed the course of his Apostleship stood not with it. Neither did he say, If therefore you haue any secular controuersies, bring them before vs, or appoint vs to giue iudgement of them, but those which are least esteemed in the Church, set them vp (*saith he.*) And I speak to your shame, is it so, that there is not any wiseman among you, which can iudge betweene his brother, but the brother goeth to lawe with the brother, & that before infidels? *Wherfore, those wise men which were resiant in some certaine place, beeing faithfull and godly (not those which discoursed this way and that way for the Gospel sake) I say, such would hee haue to bee the examiners of those matters. For which cause it is no where written of him, that he at any time attended vpon any such busines, from the which notwithstanding we cannot bee excused, albeit wee bee of the number of those which are* least esteemed, *because he would haue those also set vp (if wise men were wanting) rather then that the controuersies should bee brought into the open and ordinarie Court. The which labour notwithstanding we vndertake, not without comfort in the Lorde, for the hope of eternall life, that we may bring forth fruit with patience.* Thus saith *Augustine*; whose reasons in my iudgement may satisfie any reasonable man, verely they satisfie mee, neither can I finde anie thing to mislike in this action of his.

This is one generall maxime in the rules of Christianity, That whatsoeuer wee reade in the word of God, eyther forbidden, beeing not euill of his owne nature; or commaunded, beeing of it selfe not good; in those thinges Christian charitie dispenseth, and disposeth of the matter, as the time, the place, and the cause doth require. Vnto the which, whosoeuer doth refuse to subscribe, he doth it of stubborne and froward hypocrisie, not of any religion or deuotion he hath of the precept.

Neyther is the Diuines rule vnknown, concerning those things which are bidden, or forbidden in the word of God; name-

namely, That some thinges are forbidden, because they are euill; and some thinges are euill, because they are forbidden, (suppose for some especiall purpose.) And againe on the contrary part, That there are some things commanded, because they are good; and some thinges therefore to bee accounted good, because they are commaunded by God, who requireth such thinges of men for some especiall causes.

Now those things which are of the first sort and section, are vnder a constant and perpetual law, and not to be changed by any means: but there is not the like condition of the other sort, neither do they bind anie man any further, then the reason and occasion of the law doth require. Examples of this matter wee haue in the obseruation of the Sabaoth, and the vse of the Shew-bread, of the which it was not lawfull for any man to eate, but the Priests onely: besides many other things of like nature, which we read to be either commaunded, or condemned. In this our case; it is no crime to be a King, nor to be a Magistrate, a capitall sinne. And therfore the reason of the commandement abating the thing it selfe abideth free; and it remaineth lawfull for Princes, and other Magistrates, to be of power to command the Bishops of the Church in a Christian common-wealth, those things, which would rather be an aide and an ornament, then any hurt or impediment to their holy calling: I speake of calling in generall, not of any one mans calling (which haplie may be hindred, and shall haue neede of others which may helpe him) but of all theirs, which are in the same calling, vnto whome there ariseth any honour and authoritie from the rest. So that if all things be throughly examined, and all commodities with all discommodities compared together, which may any waies accrue vnto the Church and common wealth: I doubt not, but that which wanteth in one parte, shall be requited in the other with aduauntage.

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Chap. XXI.

An exposition of that place of Luke, in the two and twentith chapter.

NOw I come to that place of *Luke*, the two and twentith chapter: where it is recorded, that there was some question made amongst the Apostles, which of them should seeme the greater: the which for that it arose of a certaine perswasion of honor and rule, our Lord & Sauiour (the great Maister of humility) represſed the same, and confuted their misconceite, when as hee forbad them to imitate the proceedings of heathen Princes, and made himselfe an example of his manner of gouernment. For albeit he had called them indeed to a singular kind of dignitie, notwithstanding he would haue them vnderstand that the same differed heauen and earth, from that which is vsuall in imperiall kingdomes. For as the kingdome of God is diuers from the kingdomes of the earth, euen so it becommeth the Ministers of that his kingdome, to be of diuers conditions also.

Indeed it is the fashion of the Court, to sewe pillowes vnder the elbowes euen of most vile men: and commonly they which grind the faces of the people with bloud-thirstie tyrannie, and practise vpon them all kind of crueltie, are notwithstanding called most mercifull and most gratious Lords. Wherefore our Sauiour especially here taxed the manifest misdemeanors of them, which then did domineer ouer the people of God, noting withall the manifold abuses of other vngratious Tyrants, which by force and armes had inthralled mightie kingdomes vnder their dominion, vnto whome the grace of *Gratiousnes* was giuen euen by them, whom they oppressed most vngratiously.

Moreouer, there was setled in the mindes of the Apostles a certain conceit, that the kingdom of the Lord should

be

be earthly, as they did ſee that of the *Romanes* to bee, and as they had heard that of *Dauid* and *Salomon* to haue beene. Higher then this could not they aduance their conceits: for alâs they were as yet but meere infants in Chriſt, and did but learne as then to goe by ground. Whereuppon it came to paſſe, that they imagined very ſtrongly, that they could be made no other by the Lord, then Lords Lieutenantes at the leaſt: from the which their childiſh ouer-weening, our Sauiour doth in this place take them downe a little. But that it may be made yet more apparant vnto all, what might bee the Lord his very meaning in that his ſaying, I wil yet ſound into the cauſe a little deeper.

The Apoſtles ſeeme to make a verie plaine queſtion, demaunding no more but this; *Who ſhould be the greateſt among them*: but in what things he ſhould be the *greateſt*, that is not there expreſſed. No doubt a man may be accounted *greateſt* for ſundry cauſes: as greateſt in age, in experience greateſt, greateſt in learning, in eloquence greateſt, greateſt in wiſedome, in wealth, in nobilitie of birth, in authoritie and power, and ſuch like. But now, the Apoſtles were priuate men, in nothing ſingular, which commonly maketh mens minds ambitious, and cauſeth mens thoughtes to ouer-reach. As for age, experience, wealth, wiſedome, nobility, & ſuch like, they openly bewray themſelues in whom ſoeuer they are the *greateſt*, ſo that there is ſeldom any queſtion about thoſe things.

It remaineth therefore, that the queſtion betwene them was for *honour* and *authoritie*: the which alſo may ſeeme a ridiculous thing among the poore fraternitie of the twelue Apoſtles, vnleſſe haplie a man would iudge them ambitious, rather for their deſire, then for their honour. But farre be it from mee, that I ſhould raſhly condemne thoſe good men of any ſacrilegious ambition, ſeeing the Lord himſelfe did not ſo much correct them, as direct them in their demaund. It appeareth rather by that the Lord anſwered, thē by any thing the Apoſtles propounded, that they did not regard the preſent ſtate of thinges, as they were then, but

that they had an eye to that rather which they hoped to see shortly vnder Christ. They knewe, that the kingdome of GOD was now at hande, about the proclayming whereof they chiefly were sent; neyther were they ignorant how honorably the Prophets had written thereof; namely, that it should be, as a most mightie, so a most ample kingdome, not to bee bordered, but with the compasse of the whole earth; that all nations should come and acknowledge their sealtie, and doe due homage thereunto: and that, albeit they expected many enemies and aduersaries, both tyrants and traytors, yet notwithstanding, the rebellious of the people should be appeased at the last.

Wherefore, when as they were of beleefe, that this kingdome should be restored vnto Israell out of hand, their question is, who should be next vnto Christ in that kingdome. For as the Israelites had borne a long time the heauie yoke of some tyrannous Empires; so they were perswaded, that all Nations should nowe yeelde to the iust consequence of their renued title. And they did see indeed, that their present number did well agree with the twelue Princes of the twelue Tribes of Israel, and that the seuentie two Disciples did as well resemble the graund Senate of Gods people. Whereby as they knewe, that amongst them of olde, there were diuerse degrees of dignitie vnder King *Dauid*, and other Princes, so they perswaded themselues, that the like distinction of orders and honours ought to bee continued amongst them. Neither could they so soone forget that honorable speach of their Lord, when he promised them, that one day they should sit vpon twelue thrones, and iudge the twelue tribes of Israell.

These conceites (I should conceiue) the Apostles had then in their heades, being made as yet, and not throughly exercised in the censure of heauenly things: & these I think rather to haue proceeded in them, of a certaine weake ignorance, and erroneous misconceiuing, then of any sacrilegious pride, or ambitious ouer-weening. But the Lord, perceiuing their thoughts, correcteth their misconceite, & teacheth

cheth them, That he had not called them to sway an earthly scepter, but to seeke a spirituall Empire: in the which, notwithstanding the power they should receiue of him, they should still continue, and content themselues, not Princes, but priuate men. Wherfore, albeit they should be the chiefe and principall of the new people of God, yet their principalitie should not bee any thing more magnificent then the estate of other priuate men, and therefore in the forme of that gouernment he had appointed for his Church, the first and principall ought to imitate his example, who liued among them as a seruant and a Minister, when as yet they called him (as indeede hee was) both Lord and Maister. And this is the plainest exposition of Christ his words.

Where we see, that our Sauiour, because hee would not stirre vp any headstrong innouation in the commonwelths and kingdomes vnto whom he sent his Apostles, of especial purpose he sent them priuate and impotent, without either warlike complement, or ciuil regiment; namely, to conuert soules, not to inuert states: least if hee should haue erected heere any earthlie kingdome, they might haue supposed, that there had beene no other kingdome to bee expected. No doubt the calling and state of the Apostolike function was for iust cause great and honourable, and their authoritie in the spirituall kingdome autentike and inpregnable; and yet all that did not aduaunce them aboue the state of priuate men in the common-wealth; and being priuate, hee would not haue them president therein. And verely these thinges were thus ordained of GOD, in a verie prudent manner, and vppon a verie especiall purpose. For why should anie occasion bee giuen for the heathen to cauill at the doctrine of the Gospell, as a thing seditious to the gouernement, and pernitious to the common-wealth? The Lord without doubt did in great wisedome foresee, that the wicked would bee ready to picke many quarrels at the doctrine of the Gospell; when as notwithstanding all this, there is no politike Philosophie, no imperiall constitution, that doth more strictly binde the consciences of men vnto

subiecti-

ſubiection and obedience, then the doctrine of the Goſpell doth. The principles of Philoſophie, and the lawes of Nations doe permit many thinges againſt Tyrants, which the Religion of Chriſt doth flatly inhibite.

But the prudent aduiſe of this precept of Chriſt wil more manifeſtly appeare, if wee ſhall for a time but imagine the contrarie: namely, that the Apoſtles had followed that errour, in the which they were found: and then let vs admit, that the whole worlde had beene wonne and waſted by them with warre and robberie: (for they muſt of force haue followed that forcible courſe, which that renowmed theefe *Mahomet* kept: a courſe farre differing from the means and manners of our Sauiour Chriſt.) But ſhould not thus the Iewes haue bene confirmed in their errour? And ſhould not by theſe meanes iuſt cauſe haue beene giuen to the Kings of the earth, to haue armed themſelues againſt Chriſt and his Goſpel? After the ſubuerſion of Hieruſalem, there was a diligent inquiſition made by the eſpeciall commandement of *Veſpaſian*, if anie could bee found that were of the ſtocke of *Dauid*. For the Iewes, notwithſtanding their ouerthrowe, gaue not ouer their hope, ſtill expecting their *Meſsias*; They did ſee that the times which *Dauid* had foretold, were then fulfilled; and thereupon they did argue, that the *Meſsias* was borne, and that the time was now at hande, in the which the Romane Empire ſhould impaire, and themſelues preuaile: The which thing gaue the occaſion, that ſo great and cruell a perſecution was afterwardes rayſed againſt the ſame Nation.

The like we reade of *Domitian*, who had the poſteritie of *Dauid* in no ſmall iealouſie. For caſting the worſt, and fearing leaſt ſome new *Meſsias* ſhould ariſe, and break the ſcepter of their Romane Empire, he cauſed inquirie to be made after all that were of that kindred. Wherupon one *Iocatus* by name, brought before him the nephews of *Iudas* (who was the Lord his brother according to the fleſh) who did not only draw their pedegree from *Dauid*, but were thought to be very nearely allyed to the Lord himſelf. But when they were

exami-

examined, what possessions they had, and of what wealth they were, & were found to be of very mean estate, (the hardnes of their skinnes warranting the labour of their hands,) and when they further vnderstood howe they beleeued, that the kingdome of Christ should not bee an earthly Monarchie, but an heauenly Hierarchie; neither yet, that he should come before the consummation of the worlde, to iudge the quicke and the dead: They were foorth-with reiected base and simple men, and were without suspicion set at libertie.

In like maner (no question) the priuate estate of the first Apostles, was both a testimonie vnto them of their innocency, and a safe conduct among the nations for their security. But what would not the Romaine *Cæsars* and other like Magistrates haue doone, if the Ministers of the Gospell had bene sent and set forth with power of warre, and other abilliments of like power?

These the precepts of our Sauiour, may therefore worthely be alledged against the tyrannique Bishoppe of *Rome*, who chalengeth the right of all Empires, and holdeth the Romaine Empire, as his proper fee: but they cannot be alledged against those Bishops, which liue subiect vnto lawes and Magistrates, and keepe themselues in a proportionable order with other Cittizens. Wherefore, where the Gospell of Iesus Christ is honorablie receaued by publique authority, how should this abatement of our Sauiour be wrested against all Bishops? that they should not be in that reuerend account vnder a Christian Magistrate, which the lawes of all nations, and euen the very lawe of nature it selfe, and the written lawe of God also doth expresly award them? As for those places of scripture, about the which we now contend, this only may be gathered: That the Pastors of churches, in respect of their ministerie, haue no power ouer the bodies, or goods of Christians; Neither that they can chalenge vnto themselues those rights, which God hath placed in the power of the Magistrate onely. But that the same Magistrate in no place, at no time, for no cause, may commit no

portion of the Common-wealth vnto the Bishoppes of the Church, it is not as yet prooued, neither can be, (if I bee not deceiued.)

Chap. XXII.

That the Pastors of the Church, for the necessitie of the Common-wealth, may attend some times vpon worldlie affairs.

IF it bee allowable, to detract some part of that time, which otherwise were to be imployed in the studie of the Scriptures, that the Minister of the Church may the better prouide for the priuate good of his owne familie: much more may the same bee conuerted to the good of the Common-wealth, the man beeing able to assist the same, either by his aid, or his aduice.

Where either the want, or the vnwillingnesse of anye Church is such, that either it cannot, or wil not afforde the Minister his due honour, it is lawfull for him to haue recourse vnto the labour of his hands: Where-vpon the *Elibertine* councell, often-times pretermitted Bishops, Priestes, and Deacons, to trafficke for their better maintenance: The which thing, is also allowed by diuerse other Canons, which I suppose superfluous to rehearse, seeing that one instaunce of *Paule* may suffice for all. But nowe, if so bee that priuate necessitie may priuelege the detenee of the Ministerie, what may publique necessitie doe? And yet if at any time, the Minister bee exercised, (for his priuate commodity) in base and wretched busines, thereis no man greatly offended with it: But if hee bee imployed in any honest and honourable affairs of the Common-wealth, now a daies there is no man that dooth not inuie it and inuey against it: And whence for Gods-sake is this of deuotion? from loue, or from enuie.

I say

I say not these things, as if I thought that Bishops, or other Pastors, were rashly to bee incombred in their holie course: But where the necessitie, or greater commoditie of the Church, or Common-wealth dooth require the same, there is nor reason, nor religion against it. Are not Bishops Cittizens also, and subiect to Lawes and Magistrates, as well as other men? Or may they not bee commaunded (if they cannot be entreated) by them vnto whome they are subiect, to doe good to the Church or Common-wealth?

Neither is that of *Paule* to *Timothie*, any thing at all against this assertion. (*No man that warreth, intangleth himselfe in the affaires of this life:*) For the affaires of this life are those, with the which we get thinges needfull for this present life: not those things which appertaine to the publique estate of the Prince or Common-wealth. War-fare it selfe is one of the publike affaires of the Common-wealth, vnto the which whosoeuer is leuied, must leaue his domesticall affaires: so that if a man would vrge the similitude thorowly, *Hee which warreth vnto God*, must leaue all his domestical affairs: against that example of *Paule*; of whom no man wil doubt, but that he discharged his Pastorall duty faithfully, & yet notwithstanding intangled himselfe in the affaires of this life, when necessity constrained him, to get his liuing with his handie labor, and to spend thattime in the affaires of this life, which other-wise he might better haue imployed, either in praier, or in Preaching: Beeing ready, no doubt, to haue done the like in publique affairs which he did in priuate, had the Magistrates commanded, and the good of the people required the same. Wherefore, the sense of the similitude is this, that we must abstaine from those things, which do so hinder the *VVarre*, to the which wee are called, as that they force vs to for-sake the same.

That the vse of certaine things, which doe perteine vnto the Common-wealth, as to haue a Ciuill iurisdiction in certaine Citties or townes, which a man may discharge by another; to be of the Kings councel in certain causes; to be present at the publik assemblies of the kingdome; to deliuer his

iudgement in thinges concerning the ſtate; to vndertake and diſcharge a royall Embaſſee; at certaine times of the yeare, to be preſent at ſeſſions, and aſſiſes, and to vndertake all theſe by the Kings eſpeciall commaundement, or generall commiſſion, that theſe things I ſay, and ſuch like are of that wicked nature, that whoſoeuer vſeth them, cannot be a Biſhop, or a Miniſter, this I ſay ſhould haue bene prooued: and this alſo, that the Miniſter which intermedleth in any of theſe things for a publique commoditie, beeing there-vnto called and commanded by the Magiſtrate, dooth commit a wicked thing, and vnworthy his calling.

CHAP. XXIII.

That diuerſe functions are not confounded, albeit vndertaken of one man.

THAT which is commonly ſaid of the ſtate Eccleſiaſtique, (*that it is diſtinct from the Ciuil eſtate,*) is altogeather impertinent to this queſtion: ſeing both callings become not one, though one man be called to them both. Are not the parts of of a Lawyer diuerſe, and the partes of a Phyſicion diuerſe? yet the ſame party may play both partes, and prooue as good a Lawyer as a Phyſicion. In like manner, the ſame man may be both Phyſicion and Diuine, and cure the body, as a leach, and comfort the ſoule, as a ſpirituall Father. *Spiridion* was a husband man, and got his liuing by graizing: yet was hee a Biſhop of the Church, and a Paſtor of ſoules; ſhall we thinke that he confounded both theſe functions? I, but a Biſhop requireth the whole man, neither yet is one man ſufficing for more charges. I, but this indefinite cenſure is vncertainelie true, and certainely falſe: and there are manye preſidentes to the contrary, both in the old Teſtament, and in other antique hiſtories.

First,

Firſt, I would know whether *Spiridion* both Paſtor of ſheepe and of ſouls, were not a man able for both theſe charges? No man as yet (ſo far as I can learne) hath enuied him his ferme with his Biſhoprick: No man hath dared to condemne that holy men, but all men haue worthely admired both his ſimplicity and his ſanctimony: and yet might hee haue beene more greedy of graizing, then of gaining ſoules, had his mynde ben ſet vppon coueteouſnes. But why then might not the ſame man haue beene both Biſhop, and the kings Counſeller as well? No doubt the greatnes of euerye charge is chiefely to be conſidered, and then alſo, the ſupply of neceſſary ayde, which a man may haue in either charge, whereby he may well diſcharge the ſame. There are ſome Churches more great then other ſom; & ſom haue more buſines, ſome leſſe, in ſo much that the Paſtor may haue much time ſometime, to ſpare from his ordinary charge. And in a great Church, where the Biſhop hath many and great affayres, it may be, he hath many and great helps. Had theſe two functions beene ſo aduerſe and contrary the one to the other, that they could neuer be exerciſed together by the ſame man, *Moyſes* would neuer haue beene both *Prince*, and *Prieſt* ouer the people of God.

But I feare me, ſome ſilly ſhrewd fellow wil haue his action againſt me, for that I haue called *Moyſes* a Prieſt: And yet I would haue him firſt to vnderſtand, that after he had created *Aaron*, himſelfe ſtil continued both Prophet and Paſtor, as he was before. But that *Ely* & *Samuel* were both *Iudges* and *Prieſts* together, it cannot be denied. You will ſay, that was a thing *extraordinary*: and I ſay, that I do not ſpeak of any *ordinary* thing, neyther of all the Paſtors of the Church: onely I vrge what may lawfully be done, where the welfare of the Church or common wealth requireth the ſame, and in the meane while, theſe examples ſhal proue, that the ſame thing hath beene done.

But if ſo be you would haue a view of a ciuill authority, which was alſo *ordinary*: may it pleaſe you conſider thoſe forty eight Citties of the *Leuites*, and the gouernement thereof.

(For they could not be gouerned without a Magistrate and *ordinary Iudges*) shall we say that they chose them Magistrats out of other Tribes, to determine theyr controuersies, when as themselues were *ordinary* Lawyers, and not onely present, but president at *ordinary* Iudgements? Deutronomy the one and twenty Chapter, and first verse, euery question and controuersie is determined according to theyr censure. And is there not the like reason of those royalties which are giuen to clergy men in a christian common wealth, with those Cities and suburbs the old Israelites gaue the Priests and Leuites by the commandement of God?

Chap. XXIIII.

That Dauid and Solomon vsed the aide of Priestes and Leuits in ciuill affaires.

AND as the most renowmed and religious Princes *Dauid, Salomon* & others, vsed the Priests and Leuites at their command (as other subiects) in ciuill gouernement, so likewise may christian kings vse the ayde of Bishops & other Pastors of the church, if there be any among them which may stand, either them, or the common wealth in any stead. In the first of the Cronicles the three and twenty Chapter, at the commaundement of *Dauid*, there is a suruey made of al the *Leuites*, from thirty yeares of age and vpwards: and ther were found eight and thirty thousand. Of the which, foure and twenty were appointed to bee ouerseers of the workes for the house of the Lord, and fixe thousand were ordayned *Rulers* and *Iudges* in all Israell. And least any man shoulde thinke that they were Iudges onely in Ecclesiasticall causes, (as some now a dayes would hold men in hād) (forcing the Scriptures to that forme of gouernement they see in some Churches) let the six and twenty Chapter of the same Booke be wel read, and aduisedly perused, and he shal find, that the *Isharites, Chenanas* and his brethren, men of might, were deputed

puted officers and Iudges for the *buſineſſe without*, ouer Iſraell. Of the *Hebronits*, *Heſabias* and his brethren, men of might, a thouſand and ſeuen hundred, were appointed *officers* for Iſraell beyond Iordan weſtward, in all the buſineſſe of the Lord, and *for the ſeruice of the King*. And in the ſame Chapter it is ſayd, that *Danid* appoynted the kinſe-men of *Iedyas*, men of might, two thouſand & ſeuen hundred, Princes of families, ouer the *Rubenites* and the *Gadites*, and the halfe tribe of *Manaſſes* for euery matter pertaining to God and the King.

To theſe I may adde, that which I read (in the nineteenth of the 2. of the Chronicles) of king *Iehoſophat*, who intending the reſtauration of Gods worſhip, and the reformation of the common wealth, appointed Iudges, *Leuits* and *Prieſts*, and Princes of the families of Iſraell, for the iudgement and cauſe of the Lord. And where as ſome thinke by that in the laſt verſe of this Chapter: That the Prieſts and Leuites were onely deputed ouer Eccleſiaſticall cauſes, becauſe it is there written, *Behold* Amarias *the* Prieſt *ſhall be the chiefe ouer you in all matters of the Lord: and* Zebadias *the ſonne of* Iſmaell, *a ruler of the houſe of Iuda ſhall be for all the Kings affaires, &c.* As if he had there put ſome difference betweene matters ciuill and Eccleſiaſtitall; It is an errour, growen (as I haue ſayde) of a certaine fore-ſeaſoned opinion of that gouernment, which we ſee now in the Church or Rome, and ſome other reformed churches. For who ſeeth not, that in this place, *the kings affaires*, and in the ſixe and twenty of the former booke, *the ſeruice of the King*, doth not ſignify al one with ciuil matters, and politique affaires: but what ſo euer pertayned to the Kings right. (Such as were firſt deſcribed by *Samuel*, and afterwards eyther imitated, or augmented by the conſent of the people, (as it often commeth to paſſe;) of the which ther was nothing preſcribed by *Moyſes*.) But what *the buſineſſe of the Lord was*, the tenth verſe going before, declareth by particulars. For the Prieſts were interpreters of the law, as well ciuill as ceremoniall, and the King ſo appointing, they were alſo the *ordinary Iudges thereof*.

Theſe things I doe therfore remember, that all men may know, what is lawfull for the Miniſters of the Goſpell (who ſucceede the *Leuiticall* Miniſtery) in ciuill cauſes, vnder a chriſtian Magiſtrate; (not that I would wiſhe them intangled therewith any otherwiſe, then the neceſſity of time and cauſes may require) and, that we may alſo know, that thoſe precepts of our Sauiour were giuen to no other end, then that (as I haue ſayd) that miſconceite of his kingdom ſhould not be ſtrengthned in the mindes of his Diſciples. Leaſt they ſhould thinke the power which was giuen them were annexed with ſuch autority, as that they might alter at their pleaſure, and innouate publique eſtates by theyr peculiar power.

Chap. XXV.

Theyr error confuted, that thinke no ciuill affaires of the common wealth ought to be committed to the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church.

NOw a dayes this common error hath inuaded the mindes not onely of the common ſort, but of ſome part of the learned alſo: ſo that there are manye of that ſide very ſtrongly opinionate, that the ciuill affaires of the common wealth, doe nothing at all appertaine to Biſhops and Miniſters, no more then if they were neyther cittizens, nor any ſuppliment of the common wealth. Curriers, Diers, Weauers, Beere-brewers, Smithes, Fullers, Marchauntes and Pedlers, furniſh the common houſe, and giue their voyce in things concerning the common wealth: (neyther can I diſſalow the ſame in a common wealth) but that the Paſtors of Churches ſhoulde ſtande excommunicate out of their generall aſſemblies, it is a thing vtterly againſt the equal right of al Cittizens. Seeing they liue vnder the ſame lawes, obey the ſame Magiſtrate, beare the ſame burdens of the common wealth: Seeing in

ſuch

ſuch publique aſſemblies, they doe conſult as wel of theyr liues and goods, and what ſo euer elſe, vpon the which not onely theyr owne eſtate, but the publique good of theyr Churches alſo doth depend, ſeeing I ſay, they doe conſult of theſe no leſſe then of cloth, and wooll, and fiſh and felles, & importing and tranſporting any other commodities, is ther any light of reaſon, or light reaſon, why godly Miniſters ought to haue leſſe care of the common wealth, then common Burgomaiſters? If they can alledge no reaſon, what colour can they ſet vppon theyr miſhapen ground? Why they aboue all others ſhould be excluded the ciuill aſſemblies, or Parliaments prouincial, whom it chiefely concerneth to ſee, leaſt the flocke committed to theyr charge be layd open to Wolues. In thoſe things which concerne the ſafety of theyr ſoules? nay but in thoſe things alſo which touch the ſecurity of theyr bodies. Are they not appointed of God watchmen and ouerſeers (as it were in a hie tower, or heedeful centrenel) as they which are to ſee from far, what miſchiefes are like to inſue, that they may admoniſh as well the people as the Magiſtrats themſelues of ſuch things as are to be auoided? The which in deed they cannot doe, ſo long as they are kept faſting from the conſcience and conference of ſuch thinges, as are done in the common wealth.

If the Church could ſtand ſafe, though the cõmon wealth fell to decay, or if the one might riſe by the ruines of the other, I had the leſſe to ſay: but when as Church and common wealth are imbarked in the ſame veſſell, & ſaile together in the ſame danger: how ſhould the deuout miniſter be leſſe ſolicited for the ſafety of the common ſtate, then are the common Burgeſſes, who for the moſt part iudge one thing cõmodious for the Church, an other for the common wealth, & another for themſelues and their own eſtate: Theſe are in office but for a year, they neuer forſake theyr charges: Theſe may prouide many waies for themſelues & theyr own eſtate with the detriment of the Church, & danger of the commõ wealth; they can by no means preſerue themſelues or theirs, vnleſſe both Church & common wealth together be preſer-

ued: These consult that the common wealth sustaine no domage in corne and cattell, in wares and marchaundise, least themselues at any time should want their sweet return: They doe not a little regard these things: but besides these, theyr especial care is that iustice, faith, godlines, and true religion decay not in the common wealth, least at any time the kingdom of Christ should want his due increase. But do learned BB. vnderstand lesse what belongeth to the good of the cōmon wealth, then illiterat Burgreeues, & rank chapmen? Very vnprofitably haue they consumed thēselues in their headpaine vigils, and heart breaking studies, if they haue learned nothing whereby they may benefite the common wealth.

I, but Ministers are of priuate estate, Burgreeues are Magistrates: It is not conuenient that the same man should vndertake both an Ecclesiastique, and a politique office.

Truth it is, neyther doe I knowe any ignoraunt (except them selues) what is decent in this matter, and what is not. But to be present at the sacred Parliaments, to giue a voyce, and to giue aduice, is not to be a Magistrate. The books of the Prophets are plentifull in the precepts of peace, in the policies of war, and in the best counsels for al things which concerne the common wealth: and sacred histories doe record of purpose, how the people of God neuer aduentured vppon any action of weight and moment, before they had well consulted with the Priests and the Prophets. Such was the custome also of other countreis, wheresoeuer there was any religion or reuerence of God. What need I now againe put you in mind of the Chaldees and theyr Wise men, the Egyptians and theyr Priests, the Grecians & their Prophets, the Romaines and their Sooth-saiers, the French with theyr Druidists, without whose more sage aduice, it was alwaies thought a thing ominous, once to attēpt any notable thing in the common wealth. Neither were they deceiued in their opinion: For was the neglect of God euer left without reuenge? Yea the opiniō of false gods contemned, hath found the true God a sharp reuēger: wherfore al antiquity thought well, that nothing could goe well in the common wealth, with-

without due reuerence done to Religion: they began their wars with Religion, they ended their wars with Religion.

But whence in Gods name (if it can be in Gods name) is this error ſprong vp among thoſe which glory in the true religion, that they diſdayn in their counſels to take counſell of religion? Verily where God is baniſhed publike aſſẽblies, & religion is made but a ſcorn to the wicked, & the commõ wealth a priuate gayne to euery varlet; happy Biſhops, happy Miniſters of the Church which are fartheſt off from ſuch Godleſſe and irreligioús conuenticles. *Bleſſed is that man that hath not walked in the counſell of the vngodly, and hath not ſtood in the way of ſinners, & hath not ſit in the chair of the ſcornful.*

The time hath ben vnder our Lord Chriſt, when Biſhops thought it not agreable with their honor, to ſit in the counſels of Emperors: whether it were of any ſuperſtitious error of thẽſelues, or of any contagious miſdemeanor of the conſiſtorians, I cannot wel tell; but this I am ſure of, that it is no *indecorum* for the ſeruãt of Chriſt, to be ſeen in the *congregations* of God. *God ſtandeth in the congregation of Gods, he iudgeth among Gods.* But if ther, the counſels were held for priuat gain, or priuy deceit, for wicked treaſons, or bloudy murthers, no wonder though the godly BB. were aſhamed to ſtand in the vngodly aſſemblies: For albeit God be there alſo, as iudge & reuenger, yet the diuel is ther preſent, as Preſidẽt of the coũcel: otherwiſe ther was no reaſõ, why it might not be a thing decent & conueuient too, for a B. to ſtand in the conſiſtory, (Admitte him) as a Doctor to giue aduice according to the word, as Legat for the Prince or the eſtate, as a Solicitor for the widow & the orphan, for the poore & the oppreſſed, for the traduced and condemned. This was then alſo a religious cuſtom among the moſt ancient & beſt conceiued Biſhops.

What *Ambroſe* did, & what he thought in this caſe, himſelf witneſſeth of himſelfe in his firſt Booke the 27. Epiſtle: who euen then whẽ as he excuſed himſelf to the Emperor *Valentinian*, for that he would not diſpute with *Auxẽtius* the Arriã B. in his Pallace, yet euen ther alſo he acknowledgeth his duty in that behalfe, ſaing: *Wherfore take it in good worth* (gratious

Emperour) *that I can not now come to the Consistory: For I haue not acquainted my selfe to stād in the Consistory, but on your behalfe: Neyther can I willingly contend within the compasse of your Court, who nor know, nor seeke to knowe the secretes of the Court.* So that albeit *Ambrose* thought it not beseeming the dignity of a Bishop, to stand as an ordinary man in the throng of the consistorians, yet he thought it pertaining to his duety, to be there present in the Princes causes, and the affaires of the cō-mō welth. Wherfore, whencesoeuer this perswasion sprong, & whosoeuer they be, which thinke it either an vnlawfull, or an vnseemly thing, for any Minister to intermedle in ciuill causes, they doe greatly wrong the honour of religion, the welfare of Princes, and the publique state, whome they enuy the good vse, graue aduice, and louing fidelity of so necessary Cittizens and subiects of the common wealth.

If the honest examples of ancient Bishops might be of any autority at this day, I would reckon vp many honorable Legacies vndertaken by most reuerend Bishops in ciuil causes: but ther are two presidents which may sufficiently serue for our purpose. The first is that of *Ambrose* who was twise Embassador for the Emperor *Valentinian*, to the Tirant *Maximus*; & that, not without great successe: the other is that of *Marutha* Bishop of *Mesapotamia*, whom the Romaine Emperour sent Embassador to the king of *Persia*, as *Socrates* recorderh in his seuēth boke of Ecclesiasticall histories: the which his one Embassee was aboundantly beneficiall, both to the Church, and also to the Emperour himselfe. By these reasons and examples I am drawen to this conclusion, that it is both lawful and requisit for Princes, to demise certaine ciuil causes & affairs to the ancients of the Clergy; and that it is but the error of them which lust to go alone though they goe awrye, that thinke, that the Minister ought to bee sequestred from all ciuill affayres, in a christian common wealth. As for those wordes of our Sauiour, and the tradition of the Apostles, they teach vs no other thing then this; That no publique ciuil authority is ioyned with the Eccesiasticall Ministery, as any part thereof. But the state of the Church being

being altered; where the Church is the Common-wealth, and the Common-wealth the Church, there the state of the Euangelique Ministers, may lawfully bee the same, which was of olde in the Priests and Leuites among the people of God.

CHAP. XXVI.

Where the Church is the Common-wealth, the same man as Bishop, may take charge of the Church for the Lorde Iesus, and render fealtie and obeisance to the King, as one that holdeth by faith and homage.



Ome there bee which thinke, that the Churche is in the Common-wealth, as a certaine part thereof, & that the whole Common-wealth it selfe is not the Church. But this distinction hath no place in a Christian people. In times past, when christians were mingled with the heathen, as at this day they are among the Mahometists, it was then of force a part by it selfe, and it might be said, the Church is in the Common-welth, as the people of *Israell* were sometimes in *Aegypt*, or at *Babylon*. I touch not now that state of a Common-welth, in the which the head-strong people are distracted into diuerse factions, and the headlesse Churches are dismembred vnder the same Magistrate. That is a waightie matter indeed, and such as requireth a proper treatise of it selfe. But where the whole nation hath giuen their names vnto Christ, and there is no man which is not sprinckled in his Baptisme, there doubtles the Church is the Common-wealth, and the Common-wealth the visible Church: vnder the which who so supplieth, whether in respect of the one onely, or in regard of both names (the order appointed by God being kept, and those things

remaining diuerſe, which in nature are diſtinct) there is nothing in the Goſpell that forbiddeth the ſame.

In that a man is Paſtor of the people, or Biſhop of the Church, hee holdeth of Chriſt: in that hee is a ſubiect and a tenaunt to the Common-wealth, hee holdeth of the Prince: that he may performe his dutie to both theſe, he is not conſtrained to giue ouer either of theſe: the ſame man may giue vnto *Cæſar* thoſe things which are *Cæſars*, and neuertheleſſe, performe that vnto God which is due vnto God. A Biſhop, as hee is a Paſtor, doth owe vnto Chriſt a vigilant care ouer the flocke committed vnto his charge; and as hee is a ſubiect and free Cittizen, hee oweth vnto his Prince faithfull obedience, dutiful homage, and all other kinds of lawfull ſeruice.

If it ſhould ſo fall out at this day, (as it hath doone full oft and full well) that ſome noble-man holding in fee of the King, ſhould bee called vnto the Miniſtery, (as one which hath ſufficient learning, and no leſſe deuotion) the doctrine of the Goſpell doth not prohibit, that ſuch a man ſhould be made a Biſhop, and yet retaine his free holde and the royalties belonging there-unto. (Alwaies to bee conſidered, that the lawes of the Common wealth permit the ſame.) Neither is there any cauſe, why any man ſhould thinke, that this Biſhop would bee caried away with his ſecular affaires from his paſtorall charge: For if there be any feare of God in him, and if he haue any care of the Church, hee will honeſtly, and may eaſily prouide, that ſuch things be diſcharged by his ſeruants, and wil gouerne his Church himſelfe. We ſee that noble-men haue the ſurpluſage of as much time from their ſecular affairs, to diſpend in idle repaſts, as might well ſuffice a Paſtorall charge. And therfore it is not the poſſeſſions of the Kings farms and fees, which do ſo alienate a man, as that he cannot be both Lord of them, and a good Biſhop too. And therfore, if any chriſtian King ſhal thinke it behooful, either for the honor of his eſtate, or the ſtay of the Cõmon-wealth, that certain BB. of the church ſhuld hold in fee either manors or honors by their priuilege, I cãnot find that ether he is forbidden to grant & demiſe; or that they are commaunded not

to receiue,& inioy the ſame. And that which I read not to be prohibited, I vnderſtand to be permitted, nether can that be preiudicial to the Church, which is beneficial to the cõmon-wealth; eſpecially when the Church is the Common-wealth.

CHAP. XXVII.

An other argument againſt the donation of fees confuted.

IF ſo be any man vrge vs any further, and ſay, that the oblations which are made in the Church, with the which, as well God himſelfe as his ſeruants are honored, are vtterly oppoſit to the nature of fees: becauſe they are offered to teſtifie the gratefull memory of ſome benefite receiued: But contrariwiſe, a fee is graunted by the Lorde thereof vpon that condition, that the tenant in fee acknowledge the doner in ſome kind of duty for a benefit beſtowed. And therefore, ſeeing theſe two are oppoſite between themſelues, and in condition croſſe each other, it ſeemeth that Biſhops and Paſtors are not rightfully indued with the title of fees: and this alſo is made good vppon them by this reaſon. Thoſe thinges which are giuen to the Paſtors of the Church, in regard of their miniſtery, are in the nature of certain preſents, and are reputed amongſt the holy actions of religion, which are to be rewarded of God onely: And therfore, to require in lieu of them any temporal recompence, or ciuil obſequie, is a thing no leſſe prepoſterous, then irreligious: but fees are granted vpon that condition that the feudatory recognize his Patron in ſome kind of perſonall (or proportionable) dutie: & therefore our auncеſtors haue not wel done, to honor the Church with their indowments of fees. The diſtinction of Church-goods which before I remembred, doth containe a very eaſie & plaine anſwer to all this: namely, that the goods of the Church, are partly *ſacred and diuine*, partlie *ciuill and humaine*. For fees are ciuil goods, & therefore not to be numbred among oblations, but donations; neither were thoſe Cities and ſuburbs which were giuen by the people of God to Prieſts & Leuits, at any time recounted among their offeringes. Beſides this, there is a difference betweene theſe things, *to offer ſom thing to God, & to giue any thing to the church.*

Things

Things moueable, which do periſh togeather with their very vſe, are ſaid to bee offered vnto God, when they are giuen to his Miniſters, or to his poore members for Gods-ſake, (albeit the one hath the name of a gift, the other of an Almes.) The which thing, for that the benefit thereof hath the nature of an oblation, or ſacrifice, (for neither are they giuen for any reward, nor receaued vppon any condicion,) therefore, in nature they are nothing alike vnto the donation of fees, as themſelues very well confeſſe. I admit they alſo oblige a man to a gratefull memorie of that they haue receaued: yet are they not giuen vppon that condicion, that there-vpon ſome dutie ſhould be performed.

Wherefore, ſeeing that the donation of fees, are neither in vſe, nor in ſenſe like vnto the religion of oblations, why ſhuld they be confounded with them? Or how ſhould a man honeſtly argue from thence, that the Miniſters of the church may not be endewed ther with? Are they not Cittizens and ſubiectes, and liue vnder the ſame lawe, and obey the ſame Magiſtrate, and beare the ſame burdens of the Common-wealth? By what equity then can they be abridged the poſſeſſions of ciuill goods, by the benefit of the Prince & common-wealth?

Beſides, ſeeing it is thought but equall by the conſent of the holy Fathers, that the fieldes and farmes of the Church, ſhould yeeld a tribute vnder the moſt Chriſtian Princes; that the increaſe and benefite of thoſe fees, ſhould ſerue for the good, partly of the Church, partly of the Prince & partly of the Common-wealth, it is not repugnant to the ſtate of the Church, or ſtay of religion. And indeed, why ſhould not the ſame thing betide their fields, which befall the perſons theſelues? who albeit they are dedicate to God, & mancipate to his ſeruice, yet they commit nothing vnworthy their function, or not beſeeming their calling, when as according vnto the dignity of their place, they performe due ſeruice to their Prince, and other duties to the common-wealth.

That which is added of the penſion, or ſtipend of Miniſters, is eaſily anſwered by the ſame reaſon: for it differeth

not

not from the other. Wherfore as a man may consecrate him selfe and his labours to God and the Church, & yet reserue his due obsequie to his Prince and the common-wealth: so likewise may the Church inioy both fields, and fearms, and fees in the common-wealth, and yet make no claime to any extraordinary immunity from seruice, nor euer think much of any ordinary fealtie, due to the patrõs therof. The Bishop and euery other Minister of the Church, is subiect to the lawes and Magistrate of the common-wealth: and seeing he oweth homage to the Prince, as to the cõmon parent of the people: there is no absurditie committed, if by the accesse of some especial benefit he become more nearly bound vnto him, then the common sort.

How many and how bloudie wars the Bishops of Rome haue made vpon the Emperours, and other Christian Princes, euen for the onely inuestiture of those fees which they chalenge vnto themselues as consecrate to God, & therefore (as they perswaded themselues) free from all ciuill seruice, all histories can well witnesse. Wherefore those Magistrates at this day doe shew themselues very ingrate, (I may say vngodly) to the present Ministerie; who, when as by defending the authoritie of the ciuill Magistrate, which the Bishop of Rome had impayred, they haue now at the length brought to passe, that they haue recouered the same by their means, doe now notwithstanding enuie them their poore estate in the Church, and their small authoritie in the common-wealth. May not that of the Apostle (2. Cor. 11. 19.) be truly said of this people? *They suffered those gladly which brought them into bondage, which tooke of their goodes, which exalted themselues, which smote them on the face*; I more, which afflicted them with fire and sworde, and made them runne through Purgatorie, glad that they might get to Hell. But the faithfull seruantes of Christ, which set them free frõ the captiuitie of the Pope, and gaue them that libertie which they nowe abuse against the Church, those they doe not onely not reward with that honour they well deserued, but they depriue them of those dignities they once possessed: They lay baites for the bane

of some, & set snares for the liues of others, & contriue plots for the deposing and disparaging of all. Is this the thankes they giue to their Pastors? And is this the reward for so many benefits receiued by their preaching? O God forgiue them this sin, if it be possible. But thou wilt one day iudge betweene them and vs, and reuenge this infamie done vnto thy selfe.

Chap. XXVIII.

Of the honorable titles which are giuen vnto Bishops.

NOw we haue spoken of fees, and of that ciuill iurisdiction which is annexed vnto them, it remaineth that wee speake somewhat also of their titles of honour. Neither will I seeke into all, but will shew you vnto a few of them, and comprise in one or two all the rest, which either the custome of the time & place, or the curtesie of Kings and Princes, doe giue vnto the chiefe States of the kingdome. With the which here are some in England, which find themselues not a little offended, & would hold others in hand (thogh they dare not hold their hand) that such titles are not to bee giuen to the greatest Bishops.

The first that displeaseth them, is the title of *Lord*, which yet at this day is vsed to be giuen rather for honor sake, then for homage. The proper signification thereof is sufficiently known, to haue relation to the possession & proprietie of a thing. In which sense, euery man is *Lord* of that hee hath. It hath a secondary relatiō also to a Seruant: in which sense the Romane Emperours would not be called *Lords*, or *Maisters*. *Suetonius* reporteth of *Octauius*, that he abhorred the name of *Lord* & *Maister*, as a curse, and a slaunder. Indeed the *Barbarians* acknowledge no other distinction of persons, but of Maisters & Seruants; & therfore their Kings also do domineer ouer their subiects, as maisters ouer their seruants; & the fathers of families haue the same authoritie ouer their wiues & children, as ouer their seruāts. This would seem (& might well)

well) a very vnreaſonable thing to vs, being not (as they are) a people baſe & ſeruile. And yet the *Moſchouites* rule at this day after this manner; neither is the Empire of the *Turkes* much vnlike the ſame. And generally, all the Eaſterne kingdoms were once of this gouernment, & kept this foule rule ouer the nations wher they conquered. (Whether the Kings kindred had any priuilege beſides the reſt, it is to be doubted, & ſo I leaue it.) But theſe a man might truly cal *Dominos*, Lords, or Maiſters: in which ſenſe our Kings themſelues wil not be ſo called: nor will they take it in good part to be ſo ſlandered; for their ſubiects are not their ſlaues, or ſeruants, neither do they ſo yſe them. They hold it their chiefeſt glory to haue a free people ſubiect vnto them; and thinke it more honorable, to command ouer a free then a ſeruile nation.

And albeit the King may truly be called *Lord*, and indeed the only chiefe Lord in his own kingdom (referring the ſignification of that title, either to the ſubiection of the whole people, or the propriety of his own kingdome) yet contenting himſelf with the royal title of King, (which glory he wil cõmunicate with no ſubiect) he enuieth not his ſubiects the name of *Lords*, but whõ he thinketh worthy, hee honoureth with that title. Neither do inferior perſons only cal ſuperior perſonages *Lords*, but they alſo which are Nobles of equall authoritie do ſo ſalute their peeres. And doth not the King himſelfe vouchſafe to greet the Honors of his lande by the names of *Lords*? The name of *Lord* is of many ſignifications, and is (as I haue ſaid) a title rather of honour and of fauor, then of rule and of Empire: the which argueth the no ſmal malice, or otherwiſe the great ignorance of them, which hold the title of *Lord* to bee of ſo great authoritie, as that it is not conuenable to the calling of Biſhops. And yet at this day among the beſt Latiniſtes, the ſame name ordinarily is giuen to any man of any ordinary eſteeme. So doth the ſignification of this title varie, according to the diuerſitie of regions, and perſons, and proprieties.

They which in England do make the ſame a ſignification of greater honor, then that it may any waies agree with their

Bishops doe ground that their errour vpon an other, by the which they are perswaded that it is a thing insolent and absurd, for Bishops to bee taken for peeres of the lande. But herein they seeme to bewray themselues in like passion with the sons of *Iacob*, when they enuyed their owne brother, for that he was made more honourable then themselues; who ought rather to haue thought themselues honored in their brother. It is vtterly against the nature of a well ordered common-wealth, that the order of religion should not bee accounted among the chiefe states of the lande: the which honour seeing it cannot bee giuen to all that are in the same order, it is wisely and worthily prouided by the chiefe Magistrate, that the whole order should be honored in a few of them. The which thing seeing it is agreeable to the lawe of God, and the custome of the auncient people of God, & the practise of al Nations vnder the Sun; may it not seem a wōder greater then their errour, that any learned men should be found in any wildernes of the world so ouergrown with mosse, (the melancholie of their distempered brains) as once to oppose themselues in any ciuill societie against the same?

But let vs heare yet, with what reasons they are moued so farre beyond all reason. Those proud titles (say they) of dominion, are the inuentions of Antichrist: and our Sauiour answered his Apostles contending about the primacie, *That the kings of nations rule ouer them, and they which exercise authoritie vpon them are called gratious Lords; but it shall not bee so with you.* And in the 23. of *Matthew*: *You shall call no man your father vpon earth, for there is one your father which is in heauen: bee not called Doctors, for one is your Doctor, euen Christ.* Whatsoeuer els is alleadged is of smal worth: & these words of our Sauiour beeing honestly interteined, the rest will willingly yeelde themselues.

First therfore I affirme, that the titles of *dominion* were inuented, before Antichrist himselfe was hatched, hee beeing the author thereof, who is the author of *dominion*. Neyther is there any thing arrogant in the titles, but in the impotent and vsurped aspirements of such, which oft times reiecting

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their commendable titles affect the contrary, and cal themselues *seruants of seruants*, which thinke themselues *Lordes of Lords*: & name themselues with the *lesse* and the *least*, which will bee accounted the *greater* & the *greatest*, that if for nothing els, yet for that they are so named. But the Lorde his meaning was not to abolish the vse of these titles, *Lord*, *Doctor*, and *Father*, but to teach vs onely by these his precepts, to beware of two dangerous perrils: The first is, the vaine swelling or swelling veine with the which Hypocrites are commōly puft vp by reaso of these titles: the other is, the preposterous confidence which the simple people cōmonly haue in their elected Doctors, or Fathers: vppon which aduauntage the popular professors distract the name of Christ, so that some hold of *Paul*, some of *Apollo*, and some of *Cephas*, and euery man best fancieth the *Doctor* himself hath chosen: when as no man ought to build vpon any Doctors wordes, but on his alone which cannot erre (the Lord Christ.) Neyther was it the Lord his intent to inhibit vs, that we should not call those by their names, vnto whom the Lord hath giuen the names of *Doctors* & *Fathers* in the Church, or that children should not cal them *Fathers* vpon earth, that begot them into the world; or that Disciples should not cal them *Doctors* in the Cittie, that instructed them in the Vniuersity; or that Christian seruants should not cal them *Lords* & *Maisters*, which haue intertained them into their families. No doubt *Onesimus* both might & ought to call and recognise *Philemon* for his Maister: And did not *Paul* also (a most perfect imitater of Christ) cal himself the *Doctor* of the Gentiles? And why may not we also cal him, as well a *Doctor* as an *Apostle*? In the first to the Corinthians, chap. 4. he calleth himselfe theyr *Father*. *Although* (saith hee) *you haue ten thousand instructers in Christ, yet haue you not many* Fathers; *for I haue begotten you through the Gospell*. The like we reade in many other places: by the which we are giuen to vnderstand, that not the condition, but the ambition onely of those names was forbidden, with the singling out of some especiall Doctor, or Teacher, by the which wee will shew our selues to be singu-

lar: For that indeed that knowledge of the truth, which we would seem to experience in some especiall men, is onely to be expected in that *Doctor* alone, who with the Spirit is able to lead vs into all truth.

But now, what shall we say of the name & title of *Lordes*? First I say, it is no where written; *Be ye not called Lordes*: And againe I say, that although it were written, it conld beare no other sence, or haue any other interpretation, then those other titles which before are noted. That dominion ouer the Lordes heritage is forbidden by the Lord, there is no man that doubteth: and did the word *Lord* alwaies implie a *Dominion*, it were some thing they saide. But we haue heard of the diuers significations of these words. As for that the Lord said vnto his Apostles, *It shal not be so with you*; what sober mā wil interprete him, as if he had said, *Ye shall not be called Lords*? If the Kinges and Princes of the common-wealth, will haue you to sit in the assemblies of great men, and wil heare your iudgement concerning the state of the Church, and will consult together with you concerning the affaires of the common-wealth, and in regarde of my name, and in reuerence of your calling, wil haue you reputed among the peers of the land, take heede, beware of that, and suffer not your selues to bee called *Lordes*: this is a proud title, and that is a foule matter. From hence no doubt did arise that odious hypocrisie in the Church of Rome, which vnder the basenes of mean titles, exerciseth the sharpnes of no meane tyrannie, and vnder the name of Seruant of seruantes, vsurpeth dominion ouer Maisters and Seruants. And hence it is also, that his champions do glory in this, to be called Friers (Minorites) *the lesse*, or *the least*: as if forsooth there were, nor pride, nor tyranny lurking vnder these their lubarly names: or as if the name of *Lord* onely, were to bee attended with pride and tyrannie.

Wherefore, the meaning of our Sauiour in those words, was not to forbid his disciples those ordinary tearms of honour, which are giuen them by the fauor of the Prince, and consent of the people: only his intent was to teach thē, that

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the Gospel was no prince-like Ministery, or royal seigniory. By the which it neither is, nor can be concluded, that Princes may by no means vse the assistãce of Ministers, nor grace the learned Pastors with certaine principall degrees of honor. Hath Christ by any law diminished the Princes power? or hath he by any counseil aduised them to withdraw their bountie from his seruantes? or that they should haue no regard of those duties they haue performed? or not to grace with titles of honour their honest demerits, of whose truth & wisdom they haue made great vse, & had great experience? *Nabuchadnezer* preferred *Daniel* amongst the *Babilonians*; *Darius* aduanced *Mardochens* among the *Persians*; and shall it not be lawfull for a Christian King to honor the seruants of Christ for their religion? & that vpon a certain religion forsooth? That the meane may be exceeded, no man doubteth; namely, when as diuine honors are giuen to mortal men; or where immoderate dignities are ambitiously affected of them, who ought to be the patterns of modestie, & the Doctors of humilitie: but yet, that ciuil honour cannot bee thought immoderate (but of immoderate men) which according to the custome of the Cuntry, is giuen for iust causes by the aduised Prince to his approued Subiects.

How many most holy men, whose liues were only priuat, (yet publikly renowned) which haue suffered themselues to be called *Lords*? witnesse the two Testaments, Did not *Abdias* the seruant of K. *Achab*, meeting with *Elias*, salute him by the name of Lord? Was not *Elizeus* honored of the *Sunamite* by the name of Lord? Did not the keeper of the prison call *Paul* and *Barnabas* by the name of Lordes? And yet the modestie of their mindes notwithstanding was no lesse, then that of *Peter*, who would not suffer himselfe to bee honored of *Cornelius* aboue measure. We read of *Paul* & *Barnabas*, how they rent their clothes, and ran into the throng, & repealed the diuine honors which *Iupiters* Priest, with the peple, would haue done vnto them; and verely, if so bee in the name of *Lord*, ther had bene any such eminent honor, or imminent danger, as som think, they would haue refused that.

3. Reg. 18.

4. Reg. 4.

Acts. 16.

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I conclude therefore, that in a Christian common-wealth, which is the Church of Christ, all externe things, as wealth, riches, preferment, and ciuill honours, may bee referred of all and euerie the faythfull, of any calling or condition whatsoeuer, to the glorie of GOD, and the good of the Church, and the benefite of the common-wealth. (For so indeede they ought to bee referred.) With the which I include this also, that the seruantes of Christ ought so to prepare themselues, both for honour and ignominie, both for wealth and want, as that they may vse all thinges aright, to the honour of God, and edifiyng of his Church.

Chap. XXIX.

Of the Bishops familie and retinue.

BEsides all this, the Bishops retinue & ordinarie attendants, are no small motes in the eies of some, that cannot without enuie behold the same. For doe they not therein imitate the peeres and potentates of the lande? Not Christ (I warrant you) not *Peter*, not *Paule*, were euer thus garded. But alâs poore popular, and child-pleasing speech: simple are the men, whom these faire wordes make faine: for I dare be bold to say, that the retinue of Christ & his Apostles was as honorable as it might be, in respect of the time, & the thing for the which he came into the world; & much more honorable should haue beene, if God had meant to restore mankind after an other sort then he did. And yet as it was, our Lord and Sauiour was not without aboue fourescore men in his family, which waited vpon him whither he went, or went before him whither he was to come.

I, but there were no gallant Gentlemen to braue it in their chains of gold, there were no barbed steeds to praunce it in their siluer studded raynes: In that solemne pompe, when Christ would shewe his glorie vnto the Cittie, hee was well mounted

mounted vppon a sorie Asse, attended with the simple companie of his weake Disciples. I, but this againe is but a popular perswasion, in the which ther is nor pith nor rind against the thing in question. Will they neuer learne, that our Sauiour after that manner prouided for that season, least eyther hee should incurre the suspicion of affecting an earthly kingdome, or other-wise might haue hindered the worke of our redemption? Doubtles, had he bene knowen in his kind to *Herod*, to *Pilate*, and to the chiefe Priests: that which the people did of a good zeale, they would haue done for their own aduancement; but then would they neuer haue *crucified the Lord of glorie*: Neither would he which tooke in good worth the honor of that oyntment which was powred vpon him, and receiued royall presents of the wise men, (golde, myrhe, and frankincense,) haue euer refused that honour which was due vnto him from all earthly Princes, might it haue stoode with the saluation of mankind. But is not this a worthy kind of arguing (which is vsed aswel against the Papists as against vs) to reason from the times & actions of a faithles people, to the times and duties of a christian nation? neither doe I commend in our Bishops, either pride or ryot, or any superfluous excesse; but this I say, that that retinue is not to be disalowed, which the receaued and continued custome of the countrey requireth.

It was an auncient custome in the Church, that a Bishop should neuer walke forth alone, or be alone: hee had records and eie-witnesses of al his actions. Now they which are more indifferent to Bishops, had rather they should bee attended with gown-mē: the which I also had rather. But let vs weigh the matter in an euen ballaunce: for they which would haue the Bishops retinue to be men of his owne quality, seeme to say some-what, and to stand to the examples of the ancient Fathers. But it is wel knowen that our BB. are neuer without such also. Wherefore, the question is now of the number: which cannot bee prescribed to all alike, for that their reuenues are not all alike. But go too: let vs once againe alow Bishops their *ancient attendants*, The more there is of them, the

greater is his family, & so a greater number of seruants, and so a greater retenue by ods, then is as this day: and shall not their enuy also increase with the company for company?

But the seruing mens swords, and the Gentlemens chains do gall them at the heart, and paine them in their eies, as if (good men) it were a thing misbeseming the calling of christians, that a Bishop shuld be attended by Gentlemen, whether old or young? That yong Gentlemen and wel nurtered, should be preferred to some godly BB. that they may attend his person, and marke his maners, & therby become the better, and better learned: there is no man without an enuious eye, that can mislike the same. Bishops houses haue bene alwaies Colliges of learned men, and schooles of al virtue; and what hindreth that they may not now be? But least I should seme to haue taken vpon me the patrociny, rather of BB. then of their calling, I may not seeme to set forth the virtues of any, which at this day do gouern the Church of *England*. And yet, neither the zeale of my duty, nor the conscience of their demerits will suffer me, to passe ouer in thankles silence the sacred memory of that most reuerend Father, *Iohn*, L. Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with that godly Diocessan *VVilliam*, L. Bishop of *Couentry*, mine own Ordinary. As for the rest, they are all known to me alike. I knew some-times, (neither shall they euer bee vnknowen) that most reuerend L. and Father *Edward Grindall*, (the memorye of which man is renowned in all the Churches of Christ:) and two other BB. no lesse famons for their learning and religion, *Iewell* L. Bishop of *Salisburie*, and *Horne*, L. Bishop of *VVinchester*: whose religious godlines & rare knowledg, I could wish that al the BB. euil-pleased emulists had among them, euery man his part. What other Bishoppes and Archbishops happy *England* hath bred within our memory, their lerned works declame in our studies, and their inflamed bloud doth yet speake in the booke of *Martyrs*. That they were men both of sincere life and singular learning, what man, (if a man) that will deny it? I testifie therefore, that I do not defend Bishops (if there be any euill,) but the calling of Bishops, which in my conscience I

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iudge before God (who ſhall iudge my conſcience) to bee godly, chriſtian, ancient, Apoſtolike, profitable, and neceſſary. As for the crimes and abuſes, with the which the euil ſpirits charge our Biſhoppes, they touch their perſon, not their function. The tyranny of *Rome* being ſurpriſed, & the authority of Princes reſtored to their right places, wherin ſo-euer any Biſhop offendeth (if indeed hee offendeth) it may eaſily be corrected: and it chiefly concerneth the chiefe Magiſtrate to ſee, that godly men, well noted for their virtues, (ſuch as the word of God doth commend) be ſet ouer the churches: If the Princes neglect this, let the peple know, that *ſciſme* is a remedy worſe then the malady : for what ſedicion is in the Common-welth, the ſame is ſciſme in the Church of Chriſt.

And albeit theſe things doe litle concerne thoſe churches which are committed to your charge (reuerend Brethren,) where there are no Biſhops, or rather where they are all Biſhops: notwithſtanding, I haue more largely dilated of theſe things, that the whole matter may be made manifeſt vnto al you, and that you all may vnderſtand, that the honor which is giuen vnto Biſhops, is both an aid and an aduauncement to the Church or chriſtian Common-wealth; and that you may take aime by this, how farre wide they are, which inuey them this honor, & deſire to make them, or to make no more of them, then of ordinary men. That which I am perſwaded, *Satan* with a certain wile hath procured, that ſo he may bring downe all the Paſtors into contempt togeather, that ſo the whole authority of religion being little or naught woorth, himſelfe might freely caſt forth al manner contumelies and blaſphemies againſt Chriſt. For who are they (which durſt, oppoſe, or could preuaile againſt the enterpriſes of his more mightie complices? I know what I ſpeake, neither can you (beloued) bee ignorant thereof. But I haue ſaid enough of this matter for this time: and wil one day (if God wil) ſpeak more plainely of that which remaineth.

Chap. XXX.

Whether it be better for Miniſters to liue of the ſtipends of the Magiſtrate, or of the oblations of the faithfull.

ALL they which thinke, that the Miniſters of the Goſpell may liue of the Goſpell, are not of one iudgement: For there bee ſome which hold, that Miniſters ought to liue of the *tythes* and *oblations* onely of Chriſtians, renouncing all temporall goods, and ſurrendering them to the Prince and people. Other are of opinion, that they ought ſo to liue, for ſo long onely as the Magiſtrate is an enemy to chriſtianitie: who ſo ſoone as he hath receaued the Goſpel, ought to prouide, that Miniſters may be allotted their ſufficient ſtipends: the which thing when hee hath once performed, from thence foorth, there ought to be no more *oblations*.

For my part I am of a contrary opinion, for that I am taught by the word of God, that *oblations* ought to continue in the Church: ond that, becauſe they are the exerciſes and teſtimonies of our religion towards God and his ſeruantes, by the which wee not onely pay our vowes to the Almighty, but therewith alſo the Paſtors to the people, and the people to the Paſtors are mutually deuoted the one to the other. For (I know not how) a man doth not onely binde with his bounty, but is bound himſelfe alſo, after a ſecret manner: And as the benefactor maketh him his owne of whome hee doth deſerue, ſo likewiſe himſelfe becommeth his, and they both, (if ſo be there be a free and an ingenious diſpoſition in both) reioyce in the ſame benefit, as wel he which giueth, as he which receiueth. Now therefore, me thinks theyr reaſons are too too politicke and prophane, by the which *oblations* are abrogat in ſom Churches. For albeit religion ought not to be meaſured by allowance, yet is it not to be without a reward. As for that they ſo hotly alledge of the many and

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manifold abuſes thereof, it is to no purpoſe: vnles we ſhould ſay, that the ceremonies alſo which were commaunded, were to be abrogated euen then while they were commanded, and all other ſacred rites which God hath ordained, were together to be aboliſhed, becauſe Hypocrites haue and doe wickedly abuſe the ſame. For what is there ſo ſacred, which the impiety of men will not prophane? Wherefore, we are rather to inquire, what God hath commaunded, not what this or that man thinketh moſt commodious.

If any man obiect, that oblations are antiquated, as are alſo tithes, and all other ſacrifices and ceremonies of the old lawe; I would haue him to know (if he be yet to learne) that they are not exacted at this day in that manner, neyther were ſo exacted of our Fathers (as it may appeare by thoſe theyr teſtimonies which I haue before noted) but that they are onely required, as teſtimonies of a thankfull mind towards God, and a propenſiue deuotion towards his Church. But this kinde of duety hath no temporall preſcription, it is perpetual, and bindeth the faithfull to the worlds end.

It is alſo obiected, that where the Paſtors are abundantly prouided for, by the ample reuenews of the Church, or other ſet & certaine ſtipends, there oblations ought to ceaſe. I aunſwere, that the oblations may be the leſſe or not ſo often, as otherwiſe they ought to be, where the Church hath no fermes, or receyueth no annuall increaſe of theyr fieldes: but not, that there ought to be none. The end of oblations, is not only the neceſſary reliefe of the Miniſters, but our dutifull deuotion towards God. And hence is it, that the wiſe man ſayth in the third of his Prouerbes, *Honor the* Lord *with thy riches, and with the firſt fruits of thine increaſe, &c.* He doth not ſay Honor the *Prieſt*, (who notwithſtanding was to bee honored, and was honored) but honor the *Lord*. And *Paul* to the Philippians the fourth Chapter, telleth them, that he deſired not a gift, but the fruite which might abound for theyr reioycing, not for his. So then they which take away *oblations* depraue the faithfull of this fruite of theyr Religion, and conſequently of that Communion of theyr goods, Tit. 3. 14.

which good christians ought to exercise betweene themselues. Wherefore, as we haue proued, that it is lawfull for Pastors to liue of the possessions which are giuen vnto Churches, the like do we say of oblations.

Chap. XXXI.

The stipendaries cald to accompt and confuted.

NOw let vs call their reasons to an euen reckoning, which appoint Ministers their maintenance by the Magistrate his allowance. For now a dayes this is thought a better deuise, then the ancient receyued vse of offerings & glebes. And reason too: for by this means, many inconueniences may be auoyded, which mans infirmity bringeth with it. But theyr reasons and arguments are of a new mold, & not knowen to the Fathers, or not thought worthy, for the which oblations should be deposed from theyr former state. Theyr first reason is this. That by this means an occasion might be taken away, so that men could not so readily make marchandise of the word of God, which otherwise might be easie for them to doe, who imploying their whole Ministery to gain and vsury, would apply themselues vnto thē most, of whom they hoped to receiue most.

I aunswer, that the contrary may rather seeme more likely, seeing that the very couenanting for a stipend, is in the next degree to a flat bargayn (vnlesse we would iudge bargaining by giuing and taking, and measure the same by the minds of men rather then the matter.) For what other thing is it to marchandise, then to sel any then for lucre sake? But when the Magistrate setteth down a certain price for the Ministers labor, or the Minister himselfe requireth the same, albeit in plain termes there is no bargain made of either side, yet notwithstāding of both, these may seem rather to buy & sell the word, then they which liue by the oblations of the faithfull, or the increase of theyr fields. Oblations are not certayne, and they haue in them a certayne kinde of Religion: but stipends are certaine, and are in theyr nature more ciuill, religious not at all. Now whether, I pray you, may be

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ſayd rather to ſell? He which in reſpect of his holy Miniſtery receyueth the free gifts of his people, or he which rateth his labour at a certaine ſet ſtipend? Our fore-fathers in wiſedom thought, that this religious marchandiſe of religion could by no meanes be better auoided, then if on both parts they made a religion in that very action of *offering* and *receiuing*. I conclude therfore, that this miſchiefe which ſom are affraid of, namely that the whole Miniſtery ſhould be giuen to gaine & vſury, can neuer by this means be auoided in coueteous men: their minds being ſo affected (or infected rather) as that they would make a gaine of any thing, and being alwaies ready to conuay themſelues thither, wher the greateſt wages might be had.

Againe (ſay they) that liberty of ſpeech which is neceſſary in a Miniſter, may thus be better performed: For of whō they ſhall daily receiue ſomwhat, they either could not taxe their vice, or elſe they muſt doe it with loſſe to themſelues: but now where no man giueth any thing of his owne, they may admoniſh all degrees of men, with more boldneſſe and leſſe daunger.

This reaſon partly confuteth it ſelfe, and may eaſely bee retorted, and partly falleth in his own ſtrength, and can no waies be relieued. For is it not to bee feared alſo, that the Miniſters ſhould ſpeak in fauor of them, of whom they take wages? Theſe men for the moſt part haue greater faults then the moſt part; and yet if the Paſtor chaunce but to ſtir their humor, their ſtipend is in hazard. Let a Preacher with his liberty offend a whole multitude, he ſhal not endanger either himſelfe, or his eſtate ſo much, as if he diſpleaſe but one Magiſtrat. As for liberty of ſpeach, it is generally a very popular and plauſible thing, with the which while a few are offended, many are well pleaſed, and the euill will of a few gotten by this meanes, procureth the good will of a great many. Beſides, our Sauiour prouided but badlye for his Diſciples, (if this reaſon bee of any force) when as in the olde law hee commaunded the Prieſts and Leuites to liue of the *oblations* of the people, as alſo in the new Teſtament,

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he would haue his Apoſtles and theyr ſucceſſors to liue of the Goſpell, If the daunger be ſuch, that therfore they may not taxe vice. But it ſeemeth, theſe men haue eyther not attayned to the knowledge of *oblations*, or regard but a little what is read in the moſt ancient Diuines, concerning the ſame. Firſt he which thinketh, that by this meanes the ſuſpition of flattery is taken away, greatly deceyueth himſelfe, & raſhly condemneth the auncient Fathers. But goe to: let vs confer the Sermons of the Fathers which liued by *oblations*, and the ſeuerity of Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline vſed in thoſe dayes, with the Sermons and proceedings of our Preachers of this age. Shall we not be aſhamed (if we bluſh not) of our ſelues and our times, in the which all vice are ſo rife, and all diſcipline ſo ſlacke? doubtleſſe, that liberty of our Fathers in reprehending ſins of old, doth euen now reprehend vs. Again let the Paſtors Sermons, where they liue of the deuotion of the people, be compared with thoſe, where they ſtād to the ſtipend of the Magiſtrate, and it will eaſely appeare whether of them doe beſt performe theyr duety in this behalfe. But laſt of all, what need they depend vppon the voluntary deuotion of the people, where beſides their ordinary oblations, there are fayr glebes and ſufficient lands prouided for the vſe of the Church? To the which we may alſo adde, that it is the duty of a chriſtian Magiſtrat, to cauſe the people to performe their duety towards theyr Paſtors: ſo that it is altogether a needeleſſe fear which is here alledged. And whereas they thinke that the ſuſpicion of flattery is by this meanes auoyded (as if they were in daunger to be ſmothed in theyr ſinnes, which are rich, and giue with a full hand) it is but a fooliſhe conceit, ariſing from that error, that chriſtians are not *bound* to their *oblations*; or elſe of this nicety, that it is vnſeemely (forſooth) and ſuperſtitious to bring them to the Church, or otherwiſe to gather them. By the which in deede they haue made themſelues the patrons of the ſacrileage of this age, which hath left nothing for the Miniſters worthy the gathering vp: ſo that if there bee any want in oblations, there want muſt be ſupplied elſe where.

But

But by certaine ſtipends (ſay they) the modeſty of Miniſters, and the honeſty of their family are prouided for. For what ingenious man would willingly make his neede knowen to euery man? and with what face can they of the familye goe doore by doore to gather things neceſſary? verily their credite is indangered, and theyr modeſty.

But did you euer heare, that the Miniſters of the Church were brought to ſuch an exigent, as that of force they muſt gather their relief from dore to dore, among their own people? In deed, there was ſuch a cuſtome in the time of Popery for mendicant Friers, brought vp among them of a certayne ſuperſtition, without any precedent preſident of the auncient Fathers. But is there no other way to gather chriſtian oblations, but ſo? and are they not eyther brought by the faithfull of theyr own voluntary, or collected by ſome of the honeſt neighbours appointed for that purpoſe? But of the other ſide, by the certaine ſtipends which depend vpon the vncertaine pleaſures of the Magiſtrates, it is very badly prouided, both for the neceſſity of the family, and the modeſty of the Miniſters, where either ſo ſmall wages are allowed, or their allowance ſo ſlenderly paied, that the poor Paſtors (pittifull complayning) for meere pouerty are conſtrained to giue ouer theyr trade, and to forſake theyr Miniſtery. Where the people are perſwaded, that they owe nothing to theyr Paſtors, and that it pertaineth to the Magiſtrate onely to prouide for the Miniſters (alâcke poore Paſtors) I am aſhamed to report, how both people and Magiſtrate beare themſelues towards them.

But furthermore they diſpute,, that in theſe ſtipends the Miniſters can vſe no deceite, when it ſhalbe ſufficiently knowen, how much they receiue: when as otherwiſe, a couetous Miniſter may pretend, that eyther he receiueth leſſe then he receiueth, or not ſo much as ſufficeth.

To this I aunſwere, that the oblations, of the which we argue the caſe, are not ſo ſecretly giuen, or ſo cloſely kept, but that it is commonly knowen how much they are, and what the Miniſter receiueth. But to what purpoſe is al this?

or to what end ſhould al know how much the miniſter either receyueth, or hath? or who can preſcribe a meane for that matter? The Paſtor layeth out as well as he taketh in: & muſt that alſo needs be knowen? That which they adde, of the *coueteous* Miniſter, who may pretend that he receyueth leſſe, then either he receiueth, or may well ſuffice, it proceedeth of the ſame errour. I haue knowen many Miniſters in my time, among whome there is not one, whoſe wealth is not commonly knowen, and what he ordinarily receyueth euery year; ſo that there is no other means for them to lie here, then there, vnleſſe you would lie for them. But to what end are theſe reaſons? or how, thinke they, did the ancient Biſhops of the Church liue? *Ignatius, Ireneus, Cornelius, Cyprian,* and ſuch like, whoſe memorial wil continue with their glory to the worlds end? A man ſhall neuer preuent the cauels of malitious men, whether the Miniſters liue of tithes and oblations, or whether they ſtick to theyr certain allowance: both here, and there, whatſoeuer is receiued wil be thought too much of ſome. I haue often times heard the Boores groyn and grunt to this effect, that a ſtipend of two, three or foure hundred Flemiſh Florences was great wages. I (ſayd they) can keepe my family for leſſe: Neyther do I receyue ſo much of all the gayne that I can make; thus vnequally comparing not them ſelues with them ſelues, but theyr ſtyes with the ſtate of theyr Miniſters. As if ther were no difference betweene a priuate man of the baſeſt rout, & a publique Miniſter at the hie Altar: And yet two or three years wages wil ſcarce ſerue to buy him books, & beſides, of duty he ought to be boũtifull & intertainable to the needy.

A Flemiſhe florence or gilderne, is 2. ſhillings ſterling.

But now they ſay, that by this means it is well prouided for the ſubiects, who for the moſt part are but poore, & liue hardly in theyr Villages: For how ſhould they maintain the Miniſter, who are themſelues to be maintained?

Here in deed is the error of our age to be noted, which in ſome places giue to the ciuill Magiſtrate the goods of the Church, and permitteth them to gather vp tithes, which are due to the Miniſter. But to the purpoſe, In villages, the poor

which

which haue nothing, giue nothing, if it be litle which a man hath, he giueth litle: euery man payeth his tith according to his wealth, and according to the greatnes of his increaſe, whether the commodity lie in tillage, or in herbage. And in deed the poore could no waies better be prouided for, that they ſhould not relieue theyr Paſtors, themſelues being to be relieued, then thus; for by this means the Paſtors are maine-tayned by them which haue much, & they maintaine them which haue nothing. The increaſe of theyr fields, for the moſt part, keepe a certain ſcantline, & euermore the number of them is greater, which receiue, then of the poore which want the ſame. But theſe their reaſons are too blame, that both poore & Paſtors are ſo badly prouided for, as they are: for by thē the goods, which are conſecrate to holy vſes, are betraied to prophane wretches, of whom themſelues muſt now goe beg their allowance, and be glad to ſerue and flatter in moſt ſlauiſh ſort for their iuſt reward.

But yet again they argue, that men will ſeek occaſion to diſcharge their Miniſter, when they ſhal ſee that they muſt giue often, & ſhal hear their vices inueighed againſt; & ſo wil fain cauſes with greater autority & contentiō to thruſt him out.

But who ſeeth not here, how weakely this argument is grounded euen vppon an euil grounded gouernment of the Church, who leaue in the peoples hands, to place & diſplace their Paſtors at their pleaſure; & yet, if it ſo falleth out at any time (as it falleth out, ſo often as they fall out) the chriſtian Magiſtrat muſt be but an idle auditor in this iniury, & haue no autority at all to compell the wicked in this caſe to theyr duty. But let *Cornelius* Biſhop of Rome an holy Martyr aunſwere this, who being deſtitute of the ayde of the chriſtian Magiſtrate, and being infeſted by *Nouatus* his faction ſo far forth, as that he was not far from giuing vp his hold, and yeelding to the wicked; yet did he euer want of thoſe his ordinary *oblations*, euen in the midſt of ſo much euil will, and ſo many diſſentions, ſo that he could not maintain therewith his 500. and 50. clerkes, and a 1000. 500. poore people? Neither were any of the Fathers, which liued of *oblations*,

euer fearefull of the wicked, but were euer fearfull to the wicked, and were feared.

Of no greater force is that which they say, that euil men being reprehended, wil giue nothing, but will rather suffer their Minister to famish for hunger. As if that were not rather to be feared least it should be done, (as we haue experience of the doing) by the Magistrat which payeth them wages, when so euer a good Minister shal displease a bad Magistrate. But it seldome falleth out, that Pastors haue only euil men in their parishes; the Lords flocke is mixt of good and bad. The good doe loue that which the wicked doe hate, whom to displease is a great praise among good men; who will not suffer the faithful Minister to suffer losse for his wel doing, but will themselues supply that, which they shall see wanting on the part of the wicked.

But there is commonly alledged an other commodity of these stipends, namely this, for that the Ministers may not seeme to take any thing of them of whom they ought not, as are the notorious vngodly, and noted Heretiques, with whom a man ought not to haue any thing to doe: as also of the good and godly, beeing poore and needy, to whome a man ought rather to giue: as are widows, orphans, the sick and needy, whome to pill and pole is a point of cruell Religion. But I pray you, where doth the Magistate receaue, or of whome doth he contract those things, by the which the Ministers are paied their stipends? Of their owne goods, or out of the publique treasurie? but is not that confusedly gathered of the wicked togeather with the godly, of the poore together with the rich? This is indeed a strange religion, that it shall not be lawfull for Pastors to take of them, of whome the Magistrate taketh that he giueth them. All men pay subsidie, and other tributes of the common-wealth, without respect of person, euery man according to the moity of hys substaunce: Of them which haue nothing, they take nothing.

But this their religion is like vnto that of the *Franciscanes*, who when they make great daintie to handle anye money

with

with their proper fingers, they haue other to doe it for thé. I admit, it is a thing not beseeming a godly Pastor, to take of all commers: but as the voluntary oblations of wicked rich men are not to bee receaued, so the free offerings of godlie poor men are not to be refused (so that they exceed not the ability of the giuer) For although it be litle which is giuen, yet seeing it is the fruite of godlines, it ought neither to bee contemned of the Pastor, nor yet suppressed in the faithfull. But bee it remembred, that I said, the voluntary oblations of the wicked: for no doubt, a Minister of the Gospel may take tythes euen of infidels also, if they be due to the Minister by the law and custome of the Countrey: neither is religion any more violated in so doing, then when the rents of farmes are paid, or receaued of husband-men our tenants, that are heretiques.

As for the argument they drawe from the vaine ostentation of the contributors, who because they could not be vnknowen, contention might arise among them, who should exceed the rest; it is an argument none at all: vnlesse by the same reason, we will haue Christians to abstaine from good works, to auoyd ostentation. But no man is to be diswaded from bounteous beneficency, least he should fal into the affectation of vaine-glory. And that contention and emulation is good, when one man striueth to excel another in weldoing: as for the hearts and minds of men, let vs leaue them for God to iudge.

But their last argument is this, that there is no commandement, that Ministers of the Church should be maintained by the oblations of the people: by the which it may be concluded, that it is not necessary that the same maner of maintaining the Ministery should bee maintained alike in all places, and at all times: but that all things ought to be referred to good order, that they may be done to edification.

I answere, that albeit the Minister of the Church be not commanded to liue of the oblations of the people: (for hee may liue of his owne, and for certaine causes spare the people for a time:) yet notwithstanding, in the meane while the

commaundement abideth, by the which the people are bound to honour their Paſtor, and by the liberall participation of their goods, to teſtifie their gratefull & godly deuotion towardes God, and him. Neither is the queſtion ſo much for the Miniſters maintenaunce, as for the godly regards and grateful minds of the faithful towards God, who is alwaies moſt honored, or diſhonored in his ſeruants. For my part, I knowe not as yet the cuſtomes of all nations and countreys: Neither am I he, that will preſcribe to any man in this matter.

In the meane while, I ſpeake of thoſe things which I haue learned by great vſe and long experience; and it greueth me, that in many things of like nature, wee aboliſh olde thinges, and ſuborne worſe. True it is, that pariſhes vnder the Pope, had their priuileges, their glebes, their rents and their tithes, by which their Paſtors were wel maintained; & now, becauſe ſome abuſes be crept in, ſhall the whole vſe of them be taken away? Me thinks theſe are but cold reaſons I haue now confuted: with the which it were to be wondered, that any man ſhould bee caried away, were it not that the hatred of Poperie did hurry men headlong into vaine contrarieties in ſuch things as are, or haue bene vſed among them.

Chap. XXXII.

Certaine reaſons why Stipendaries are diſproued.

WHere as the Apoſtles rule commandeth vs, that all things be done in good order, and to edifiyng, it will be a labour worth the paines to ſee, whether that may better bee done, by paying Miniſters their ſtipends, or rather by that auncient manner deliuered by the Apoſtles, and receaued by the Fathers, which giueth to Paſtors their tythes and their offerings.

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First, I doe not thinke that wisedome is growen vp with vs, that we should dispose of things better then our Fathers haue done. Besides, there is no man that desireth to be clear from the aduersaries cautels, that ought at this day to make any innouation in the Church of Christ, without the approued example of former ages. But this is a nouel kind of *honoring* the Pastors of the Church, not read of in the scriptures, not knowen of vnto the Fathers, nor euer heard of before these our daies (the common brokers of all newes) that the Church had their Stipendary Ministers.

Notwithstanding, when I say, that Stipends taken out of the Exchequer, (or other-wise collected,) doe blast the fruites of religion, and depriue the people of the comforts thereof: I would not so bee taken, as if I thought it vnlawfull for the Magistrate to contribute out of the treasury to the Church: But this I say, that the Christian people ought notwithstanding continually to be deuoted vnto their Pastors, in the bonds of a religious affinity, and religiously to honour their Ministers with the testimonies of their gratefull memory: the which when it is hindred by the one part, it must needs be, that charity should waxe very colde on both parts.

Saint Paule (as wee haue sayde before) gaue it in commaundement, that he which is taught, should communicate in all his goods with him that taught him: from the which duty no stipēd ought to excuse the able auditory, no excuse to dispence with an expence of duty. For that communication of their goods, is not so much to releeue the others necessity, as to approoue their own duty. The poore Christian brother is honoured for his want; but the holy Minister of God, for the worthines of his office.

Besides this, the good will of the Magistrate is variable, who being once offended with the Ministers, whether right or wrong, they shall be sure to leape short of their stipends. But whensoeuer the cōmon treasurie shal shrink (as by many meanes it may be brought to a low eb) then alack pore Ministers, needs must your state be most miserable. The people

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not accuſtomed to paſſe any thing to their Paſtors, wil think it perteines nothing to them wheather they ſincke or ſwim: and moſt men are of that booriſh nature, as that they wil rather leaue the Paſtor deſtitute, then they wil ſeem to contribute: and ſo, hee being forſaken of his flocke, of force muſt needs forſake his flocke, (as at this day it is come to paſſe in many places of *Holland*.)

But how wretched the eſtate of the Miniſtery is in that countrey, by reaſon of the baſenes of their ſtipends, and the badnes of their paiments, they knowe beſt that ſmart for it: when as (poore ſoules) they are conſtrained to trudge no ſmall iorneis to begge their wages of their good maiſters: of whome many times, they beeing intertained with diſdaine, are ſent away with a miſchief, and bring nothing home with them but night, (beſides the wearines of their lims, the loſſe of their time, the expence of their money, and anguiſhe of their relenting ſoules.)

To theſe miſeries we may adde this alſo, that the Magiſtrate, accuſtomed to pay the Miniſters their wages out of the common treaſury, beginneth to take them for ciuill officers, and towne-ſeruants: ſo that baſe men will not ſticke ſome-times, after they are once out of office, (as Curriers, Tinkers, Carpenters, Pedlers, and ſuch like) to inſult ouer their Paſtors with a villanous mind, and in a ſhameleſſe maner, and to ſay, What, ſir-prieſts? you are our ſeruants, we are your good maiſters, we pay you wages: I would be aſhamed (ſo God mee helpe) ſo diſdainefully to ſhake vp the verieſt page or baſeſt drudge in my Lordes kitchin, and as ſoone I ſhould be called to mine anſwere for it.

I remember, in a ſolemne banquet made at *Gaunt*, to the Prince of *Orange*, it was my hap to ſit ouer againſt a cople of iolly Burgo-maiſters: who when they once began to be ſomwhat warme in their liquor, and were now come from neuer a word, to neuer a wiſe word; at laſt they ſpied me buſie in talke with another, and thinking I marked not what they ſaid, they began to ſpeake their pleaſure, and by chance I ouer heard thus much of their good talk. We muſt take heed

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(ſaid they) leaſt theſe buſie Miniſters becom more comberſome vnto vs, then were euer our corne-fed Papiſts: we muſt therfore keepe them vnder leaſt they grow too luſtie, & creep too far in fauor with the people, and ſo become a terrour to the Magiſtrates: but eſpecially we muſt looke to this, that their wages be not too great: *He that bringeth vp his ſeruant delicately, at length ſhall find him maiſter-full.*

Theſe men (a Gods name) would ſeeme the patrons and pillers of Chriſt his Church: but they (bee it ſpoken without any preiudice to any other) did afterwards bewray the venome they foſtered in their harts, when not long after they both became traytors to God and their country. Whether *Holland* harbour any more ſuch mates, let them looke to it vnto whom it belongeth: but the like effects giue a ſhrewd geſſe of the like affects. In the meane while wee ſee, how this diſdainefull dealing againſt Gods Miniſters commeth of this, becauſe they are ſo bragge that they pay them their ſtipends; being indeed no other thing, then that which they haue before purloined frō the church, & crambd into their guiltie coffers. Wherefore, let no man wonder, if I like but a little of this manner honoring of the Miniſterie: for ſmal is the honor that is braued with contumely. And therefore in the name of God, let that manner of honoring Gods Miniſters bee continued in the Church, which was appointed by the better wiſedome of the Lord, aſwell in the olde, as in the new Teſtament, I ſay let it be continued in that manner as it was well conceiued, and worthily receiued by the ancient Fathers: Neither let the prerogatiue of our owne conceits any longer deceiue vs, as if we were the onely men that could deuiſe a better. Let abuſes bee corrected; but ſo, that the lawful vſe be either retained, or reſtored. Nor let the iniquitie of thoſe men which haue defiled thinges ſacred and prophane, ſo farre preuaile with vs, that wee ſhould therefore confound things ſecular and ſacred, or that wee ſhould take away that diſtinction in things, which nature, reaſon, and religion hath ſet downe.

The third Booke.

Of Sacrilege, and the punishment thereof.

Chap. I.

That donations are made firme to Churches by the same lawes, by vertue whereof other Citizens hold their possessions.



THE studie and bountie of our forefathers in inriching the Church are sufficiently knowne; in whome it may seeme no small wonder, that entrie where, alwayes, and at all seasons, they should so farre mistake the matter, that is, so childishly to deale in this matter; and that their posteritie should nowe at the last see more, and conceiue better then they, who in the same cause take a cleane contrary course to them, & that without any commaund of God, any example of former age. No doubt, as to stand vpon the examples of our Fathers in their offences, is foolish and vnreasonable; so rashly to condemne the same, wherein they cannot be conuinced, is vtterly godlesse and irreligious.

True it is: wee are all prone to euill, Fathers, and Fathers children; but to whether of these may wee bee more easely perswaded, iudge you: to giue of our owne, or to take away other mens? Our Elders gaue, (which no man can denie) of no euill mind: our vpstarts take away that our Elders gaue;

with

with what mind, the thing it selfe doth shew. Our Fathers gaue according to law: our nouices take away contrarie to law. Wherfore seeing the indowments made to the Church haue their strength and assurance from the very same lawes, by the which other Citizens possesse their goods; is there any man that would not iudge it a tyrannous act, if any Mastrate (shewing no cause) should thrust any subiect out of his possessions?

Wherfore, the Churchmen ought to haue bene first heard, and inst cause should haue beene brought in against them, why they were not any longer to bee suffered to enioy the possesions of the Church in a Christian common-wealth. They also ought to haue bene heard which were to succeed the Masse-Priestes in pastorall charge, whome it chiefly did concerne what was to be done with those goods. But what need all this? without any iust knowledge, or further trial of the cause, a quicke course must be taken; & the Chequer (if it were the Chequer) swopt at al. But if the Church-men were found ready to renounce all Popery, and to receiue the true profession of Christ his religion, what cause was there lefte, or what occasion might be found, why Bishops and Pastors should be expelled their parishes & possessions? vnlesse haply they did reckon the Church goods among the other heresies? which error is already confuted. But where now shall I lay the blame? vpon the ignorance of the Ministers? or the auarice of certaine Officers? No doubt, they were both in great fault. But certaine craftie & vngodly men, who not in the zeal of godlines, but for the desire of goods (presuming of a pardon for the contempt of all religion) ioyned themselues vnto vs; and while they would seem the more serious fauorites of the Gospell, they became the most sacrilegious instrumentes of this mischiefe: so that the same which of som was thought to be done of error or ignorance, in these was brought to passe of a malitious wickednes. For who can excuse them of most hainous sacrilege, who vnder colour of reformation in some partes of Germany, & the Low Countries, haue made a pray of whatsoeuer was giuen for holy &

neceſſary vſes, to the Church and Church Miniſters? With due reuerence I acknowledge the chiefe Magiſtrates, as the chiefe patrons of religion: and I hold it alwayes lawfull for them, according to their royal right, to make lawes for the Church and Church goodes; alwayes prouided, that they ſo take not the matter vpon themſelues, that they take al vnto themſelues. For it is not the part of a patron to ſpoile his clyent; neither was it euer heard of, before theſe dayes, that any Chriſtian Magiſtrate brought into his Chequer all the Church goods, & made no bones therof. They which vpon occaſion rifled the Church, onely of ſome ſmall part therof, & that when the Chequer was in ſome great conſumption, are but euil ſpoken of for their labour in all hiſtories. What then may we iudge of thē, who haue ſet the cards, & drawne the Church of euery penny? I name none; But I mean them, who by their example haue giuen the hint to their neighbors, and ſet them a patterne of an holy robbery. Lord, how like are theſe ranke profeſſors to *Iulian* the recreant, or the Turkiſh tyrant, which make no difference betweene thinges ſacred & prophane? how vnlike to any Chriſtian Magiſtrate, (ſo far as I know) either of this age, or our fore-fathers? But is it a foule matter for ſacrilege to be obiected to a Chriſtiā Magiſtrate? a more filthy thing is it to be committed.

Chap. II.

What Sacrilege is.

THere are ſome found nowadaies (not far to ſeek) who thinke that no ſacrilege can now bee committed, becauſe the difference betwene ſacred & prophane in externe thinges, was taken away by the death of our Sauiour, which ſeemeth to mee not the iudgement of a Diuine, but the opinion of an Atheiſt. For albeit to the holy all things are holy, and to the prophane all things prophane; yet that diſtinction of things is not taken away, which they haue in their appointed vſe. There was alwayes among all nations a great difference put,

betwene

betweene those thinges which were dedicated vnto diuine seruice; and those thinges which serue men for their common vses. Thinges for the most part take their denomination from their ende for the which they were ordained. So priuate men haue their treasure; and the common-wealth her treasure: If you doe respect the matter, they are both of one nature, namely, gold and siluer, and whatsoeuer else is of any price: but if you respect either the end, or the possessor, you shall finde a great difference betweene them. The end of a priuate man his treasurie, is the commoditie of a familie; but the end of the publike treasure, is the benefite of the Prince and the whole Country. In like manner the treasure which is giuen or gathered to the worship of God, it hath his proper end, diuerse and distinct from both those before mentioned: the which ende seeing it is sacred, it giueth the name also to the treasure, and it is called *sacred*.

Furthermore, because the iniury is greater which is committed against a Prince, or a publike state, then if the same be done against a priuate mans person, or his estate; therefore the robbing of a priuate treasure, is called plain Theft; but of the common treasure, a Robbery of the common-welth. So likewise how much the more horrible the offence is which is committed against God, then against man, so much more detestable is the direption of the sacred treasurie, then common theft, or the robbing of the cómon treasurie. For which cause they call that also by his proper name *Sacrilege*, which is commonly defined, to bee the theft of a thing sacred. The deformitie of which theft is so much the more notorious, by how much the more sharper punishments God himself, as also the laws of al nations haue deuised against the same. Albeit the definitiō cōteineth, not only things sacred to the worship of the true God, but of false gods also: for that it is the conscience that maketh the sacrilege, & an opinio of the holy godhead contemned. But how all those goods the Romish Cleargie did possesse (vnder the title of the poore, & the Church) haue beene translated to priuat & prophane vses, I need not tel; for it is too manifest.

Chap. III.

The reasons with the which they commonly excuse their Sacrilege.

BVt sacrilegious persons and their patrons, will not onely maintaine themselues with their theft, but they will maintaine their theft; that it was well and worthily done, for the ouerture of the Pope, and the inuestiture of the true Church. Their reasons are these: That the goods of the Church did serue to Idolatry, & prophane vses, the which beeing taken away, they could by lawe deuolue no man, but onely to the common treasury, of the which the Christian Magistrate hath the care and custodie. And as the godly Emperours *Constantinus*, *Theodosius*, *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*, hauing by their lawes put downe the Idolatry of the Gentiles, had the places and reuenues of their temples and their prebends in their owne power, to dispose of them as they thought best, and that without any sinne of Sacrilege: so likewise at this day, the Papacie being exiled, the goods & annuities of Munks, Nuns, and Masse-Priests, may be chalenged by the same right to the Christian Magistrate. But that wast goods pertaine to the common treasurie by way of excheate, it is a knowne point in the lawe, and a common case.

Neyther were the Bishops of olde of this opinion, that the Church had any right to those goods which were destinate vnto the seruice of Idols: so that it may seeme a verie straunge thing to vs, that at this day there should be found any faithfull Minister of the Gospel, which should once presume to make chalenge to the goods of the Popish Church, to the vse and behalfe of reformed Churches. In the first of the Codices *de paganis & sacrificijs*, the 14. title, there is an imperiall decree extant, the words whereof are these: *We will & commaund, that all places which in the olde time of errour were deputed to sacred vses, be ioyned to our substance. But what so euer by that right, either the liberalitie of former Princes, or our Maiestie, would haue come to the hands of any particular persons whersoeuer.*

let that remaine in their inheritance, with an euerlasting assurance: but those things which by many decrees our pleasure is should appertaine to the holy Church, Christian religion shall chalenge that vnto it selfe. Giuen the 3. of the Calend. of September, at Rauenna. Honorius 10. & Theodosius 6. *Aut. Coss.* By which decree it is manifest, that it was alwaies in the power and right of the Emperours to giue those things which were wast by the abolishing of Idolatry, vnto whom it pleased them. And *Dig.* the 33. booke, a title, *De vsu & vsu-fructu Legato. Leg.* 16. *Legatum.* We read of legacies giuen to the setting foorth of Pageants, which might not be set forth; the which, chaunging but the name of Pageantes into the name of Popish-Masse, are all alike: the words are these: *A Legacie is left to a Cittie, that of the yearely reuenewes thereof a Pageant might be solemnized in that Cittie, for the sacred memorie of the deceased, which thing it is not lawfull to celebrate. I aske therfore what you thinke of that Legacie? Modestinus* maketh answere; *Seeing the testator his will was, that a Pageant should be set foorth, but such as was not lawfull there to bee set foorth, that it is no reason, such a quantitie of money, which the deceased bequeathed to the shew, should returne to the benefite of the heire. And therefore the heires of the deceased, and the chiefe of the Cittie being gathered together, they are to consider vnto what vse the thing commised to their trust, may bee conuerted, that the memorie of him that made the testament, may be solemnized in another, and a more lawfull kind.* These thinges saith *Modestinus* in the ninth of his answeres. By which law any man may see, what is to bee thought of such behestes, as are bequeated to the celebrating of vnlawfull Masses.

To these thinges it may bee added, that the auarice of Church-men was insatiable, procuring to themselues infinite donations, both superstitious and superfluous. Yea when liberalitie waxed colde, they purchased of themselues, both fieldes and fearms, and many times whole countries, so that at last they would haue incroached vppon all Christendome, had not the lawes of aduised Kinges and Emperours limited them, who did perceiue that their ouer-thriuing was to the ouer-turning of the Common-wealth. And

therefore

therefore euery wise Magistrate had need to take heed, that they dash not their feet against the same stone.

Chap. IIII.

An answere to the arguments of the former chapter.

I May answer, that we haue no lesse need to beware least while like wise men wee plie vs to run from one fault, we rush like fooles into another. Haue not our fore fathers kept a meane? Why then let their errour bee a warning vnto vs. For wee are men also; and it is a more ordinary thing among vs, to slide into a contrarie vice, then to keepe a commendable meane: and therefore it may also come to passe, that too much niggardlines may carrie vs whither wee ought not. But to admitte the vtmost, that the Cleargie would haue raked together their wealth, to the ruine of the Common-wealth; and that of olde, donations were made, partly superstitious, & partly superfluous; yet of all this it followeth not, that there were none lawfull, none religious, none acceptable vnto GOD, and agreeable vnto his worde, and profitable vnto his Church. But was there any thing in their goodes superfluous? it might haue beene cut off: was there any thing in his vse superstitious? it might haue beene taken away, or turned to better vse.

That they say it was doone, for the ouer-ture of the Popes tyrãny, & the inuestiture of true christianity, it is but a meere colour, and that but a bad one neither. Craftie men abused the preaching of the Gospell, and the simplicitie of godlie men (whome it was easie to hold so in hand) that so themselues might gourmandize the goods of the Church, as a fat pray that hung fit for their lips. That it was so, the thing it selfe preacheth vnto vs. Neyther will I any longer stay therin, least this sinke beeing stirred, should exhale a vapour too filthie and vnsauorie.

But that which is aleged for the defence of sacrilege, may not so passe, vnexamined. The first is, That the church goods

serued

ued to idolatrous & prophane vses: which being taken away, could by no lawe deuolue to any but to the publike treasury. Now that the fallacie of this proposition may the better appear: I assume that to me which themselues cannot deny me, namely, that there is a difference to be found betweene those thinges which are *dedicated* to idolatry and excesse, and those thinges which are *abused* to idolatry and excesse. There is nothing so holy which the wicked may not abuse: and yet the abuse of a good thing dooth not inuert the nature thereof. As for the welth of the *Romish* Cleargy, it was not all giuen to idolatrous and vngodly vses: for there were many thinges giuen of old, to the vse of the poore, and Pastors of the Church. The which albeit the Popish Cleargy haue abused, yet the nature of the donation is not thereby altered. Of the donations which were made to Churches, *some* were before the corruption of the Church, and *some* after. (For I shewed before, that the oblations and donations of the faithfull, had their beginning euen with the Apostles.) But that these, which were made before the corruption, are sacred to God, no godly man will deny the same. Now, the Bishop of *Rome* and other heretical Pastors, found the churches founded by the Apostles, and furnished (according to those times) with sufficient riches: to the which, albeit they added much by much naughtines, yet the same is not to be esteemed of alike, but so to bee accounted of as the rest was. No question, in the Church of *Rome*, and other heretique Churches, there are diuerse and sundry thinges, the which if they be taken in their proper kind, are very christian, and commaunded by God himselfe: (such is the sacred Ministery of the Church, & holy care of the poore:) So that whatsoeuer was bequeathed to either of these, or vnto them both, hath a godly end, and may haue a godly vse. As for the *prophanation* of things, it ought not so much to mooue vs, as the nature of things: against the which there is no litle to be gained, ether by prescription of time, or abuse of the thing. But if it so fall out, that the prophane vse be abolished, they ought to be reuerted vnto their lawful vse, for the which they first serued. The Arke of the Lord was taken of the *Philistines* and prophaned; but it did not therefore cease to be sacred to God, & be-

ing receiued againe from the *Philistines*, it was no lesse to be esteemed, then it was before. The vessels and ornaments of *Solomons* temple, were translated by *Nabucadnezar* to *Babylon*; the which things beeing laid vp in the Temple of his Gods, after his manner he vsed them religiously. But *Babylon* beeing conquered, *Cyrus* in the right of a conquerour, might haue praied vpon them; yet when he once knew, that they afore-times pertained to the holy worship of the *most holy* in the temple of *Solomon*, he abstained from them, and cõmanded that they shuld bee restored to their former vse againe. More wisely or more religiously done? least hapiy hee might haue incurred the same crime of cursed sacrilege, for the which the Lord had iustly punished prophane *Balthasar* his predecessour. By the which it may appeare, that what things are once destined to the vse of the Church, are sacred vnto God for euer; nor is it lawful at any time to distract them to foraine vses.

CHAP. V.

A distinction of those Church-goods, which the Church of Rome possesseth at this day.

BVt when as all the goods which we see in the Church of *Rome*, are not of the same kind, we cannot giue the same iudgement of them al. There is therfore a threfold difference of them alwaies to beremembred: In the first order I place those, which our godly Fathers gaue to the Church, for the maintenance of the Pastors, and the relief of the poore. In the second order I place those, which were granted to the church for superstitious vses; as for Masses, Dirges, Monks and Nuns, & morow Masse-priests. And in the last order I place those infinite donations, pernitious to the Common-welth, which were either rashly made by Kings and Emperors, or wrongfully extorted from them, by force or fraud: of which kinde are the inuestiture of those Ecclesiasticall fees, which were giuen by godly Princes to the churches; the which when as by that title they do pertaine to them of right; yet the BB. of *Rome* doth chalenge the whole right therof to himselfe But these things, seeing that by the lawes both of God & man, they pertain to Kings alone, that which is *Cæsars* is to be giuen to *Cæsar*. The Lord hath forbidden ministers tobe Kings ouer

their

their churches: & therefore, in the 22. of *Luke*, he purgeth that humor in the heads of his Apostles with this Aloes. *The Kings of nations rule ouer them, and they which haue power ouer them are called bountifull, but it shall not be so with you*: that is, you shal not be Kings: with which magnificent titles of bountifull and gratious, they flatter them which haue smal cause, bearing the heauy yoke of their cruell dominion. Wherefore in this case, christian Kings may lawefully reuerse, what-soeuer the Bishop of *Rome* hath vnlawfully raked to himselfe, by fraud or by force.

But heere I require discretion and moderation to bee vsed, that *Cæsar* do not so reuerse those things which are *Cæsars*, that together he fal to rifle those things which are *Gods*. Indeed the cleargy of *Rome* hath rauisht them both; but they are not worthy whom the christian Magistrat shuld imitate; neither is he a mā of worth, that wil punish theft with sacrilege. What things the error of our fathers gaue to superstitious vses, they ar void I confesse, (supestition and idolatry being taken away,) & the godly Magistrat may dispose of such goods, as hee shall thinke good: neither hath the church any right to chalenge in these. And yet, if the authority of the former law aleadged, and the counsel of the learned father *Augustine* be of any worth, those legacies which were giuen for the celebrating of masses, & the nourishing of Monks may be conuerted to some better vse, by the which, the memory of the testator may be solemnized in another & a more lawful kind. In the 16. of *Numb*. the censors with the which, the 250. rebels offered vp incense, as Priests in sin & vngodlines, were notwithstanding *hallowed* before God: and therfore, that in no wise they might afterwards be imploied in any common vses, he commanded them to be drawn into brode plates for a couering to the altar. So were the instruments which the irreligious abused conuerted to a sacred and a religious vse. The which commandement indeed, althogh it be not general, yet it conteineth therein an especiall instruction, by the which we are taught, what ought to be done in such a case. *Augustine* in his 154. Epistle to *Publicola*, is of opinion, that the Idols, Idol-temples, & groues which were put down, were not to be diuerted to any priuate vse, but to bee conuerted into publike seruices, and the honor of the true God; that

the like thing may be done by them, which is done in the men themſelues, who are conuerted from a ſacrilegious & impious people, to the true religion of the liuing God: Leaſt otherwiſe it might ſeem to be done, not of conſcience, but for couetouſnes. But ſeing the law of God preſcribeth nothing in this matter, and whatſoeuer *Moſes* hath written therof, concerneth the people of *Iſraell* in perticular, I make it no matter of religion why the Magiſtrate may not determine herein as it ſhal ſeeme beſt to his godly wiſedome. Nor doe I diſauow the decree of the Emperours *Honorius* and *Theodoſius*, but I aduiſe al Princes and other chiefe Magiſtrates, who haue earſt reformed Churches, or ſhall here-after, that this one thing be alwais wel conſidered of them, namely, that Churches were but robbed of their rights by Moneſtaries, when they gleaned to themſelues the duty of tythes and oblations: which things chriſtian Princes and people haue conſecrated of old, to the honor of their Paſtors, & the comfort of the poore. For they prepoſterouſlie take vpon them the gouernement of Churches, contrary vnto the order of the ancient Church, and vnder the title of voluntary pouerty, theſe gathered that to themſelues, which was giuen to the poore forneceſſity.

CHAP. VI

That the goods of Monks are not all of one kind.

AS in thoſe goods which the *Paſtors* and rectors of the Church poſſeſſe, I haue ſhewed that ther is great difference: ſo neither are we to think, that the goods of *Monks* are all of one ſort. It were to long to repeat, how they came to ſo great wealth, neither is it needfull; onely this I wuld haue wel noted, that whatſoeuer the *Monks* poſſeſſed, which of right was due to the Paſtors of the church, that al that did pertaine to the firſt order of church-goods (which I before noted:) the which indeed after the ſubuerſion of Monaſteries are not to be taken for waſt, ſo long as there is anie Church remaining. Wherevpon I infer, that all popiſh idolatrie being put down, onely thoſe things which maintained, either tyranny, or idolatry, do deuolue by right to the Chequer: the reſt, which had nor cauſe nor end erronious, was to be reſtored the Church againe.

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If so be in any place, all is come to the common treasury, whatsoeuer the *Monkish* professors had in possession, and that, not so much with the consent, as by the counsel of those, whō the matter it selfe did concerne, and ought rather to haue interceſſed, and taught the Magistrate the contrary, let them beare the blame for that part themselues, worthy also to bear the burthen. We know that the prophanation and abuse of Church goods could not be such, as that they could inuert the nature of things giuen, or infring the vertue of the donation it selfe. That which the Arke of God was, was it not still, euen among the Philistines? Neyther were the vessels of the Lorde his Temple vnhallowed, though they were in the midst of Babylon. That the Pope of Rome with his clergy haue abused, and doe abuse the true and lawfull goods of the Church, it ought not to be any preiudice to the godly Ministers of the Church: Seeing the possessors thereof are not Lords, but stewards onely, who haue the vse, benefite, and bestowing of the Church goods, not the propriety.

As for that they say, that the Bishops of old thought, that the Church had no right to those things which were dedicated to the seruice of the Heathen gods: it maketh nothing at all against the truth of our position: For neyther do we hold, that the Church hath any right to those things which are immediatly destinate to vngodly vses: I haue already confessed, that those things are in the second order of Church goods: & therfore in the power and at the pleasure of the christian Magistrat. I remember that I sayd, that I did not dislike the decree of *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, and other godly Emperours: whose better examples, if they had imitated, whose error hath vrged me to write thus much, there had beene no neede of this discourse.

Chap. VII.

That it is an other thing to come from Paganisme *to Christianity, then to come from* Popery, *or some other heresie.*

MOreouer this also is not to bee omitted, that it is one thing for a people to be conuerted from *Paganisme* to Christianity, and an other thing to come frō

Popery, that is frō Hereſie to true Chriſtianity. The difference which is between Paganiſme and Chriſtianity is much greater, then that which is betweene Chriſtianity & Popery. Paganiſme hath nothing in common with Chriſtianity: Popery is Chriſtianity, Chriſtianity alayed; alaied, or rather rackt with foule Idolatry, and (that I may ſo ſpeake) it is a certayne medley, or a kinde of mongrel and motley Chriſtianity. For the ſacred Scripture both of the old and new Teſtament, the couenant of God, the Baptiſme of Chriſt, the remiſſion of ſins, and the name of a chriſtian, with many other things of the ſame profeſſion are there, peculiar to the Church, which are notes of chriſtianity, & are no wher to be found out of the Church: Not in Paganiſme, not in Iudaiſme, not in Nahumetiſme. So that the Hereſies & Superſtition which being ſubſtracted, are added to the Romiſh Church, the remainder is meere Chriſtianity. Very Popery is but a botch of the Church, not the very Church: but that which the foule Leproſy is, or any other deadly contagion in the body of man, the ſame is Popery in the body of the Church. So that, to forſake Popery is not to forſake the Church, but to fly frō the infection of the church. Now then; when an Ethnicke becommeth a Chriſtian; an Alyen and a ſtraunger, is receyued and inſerted into the newe people, & then beginneth he to be a member of the Church. But in the reformatiō of any erronious or ſtragling Church, an adulterous Church becommeth a chaſt ſpouſe, and baſe chriſtians are made lawfull, (the wife being reconciled to her huſband:) and therefore, what things ſo euer the adulterous Church vſurped of the goods of her huſband, the lawfull Church (as true ſpouſe) doth challenge the ſame to her ſelfe by his right. In *Theodoſius Records* the ſixteenth Book and the foure and forty title, againſt the *Donatiſtes*, thus it goeth. *But thoſe places, in the which curſed ſuperſtition as yet remayneth, let them be ioyned to the holy Catholique Church, ſo that theyr Flamines and Prieſts, theyr Prelates and all theyr Miniſters, be ſpoyled of all theyr goods, and exiled into diuerſe Iles and ſundry prouinces.* There alſo in the fourth Booke, we reade of a decree from the ſame Emperours *Honorius* and *Theodoſius*, againſt the *Montaniſts*, in theſe wordes. *If there now remayneth any proper edifices, which*

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ought to bee called rather dens then Churches, let them bee awarded to the holy Churches of the Orthodoxike sect, with all theyr indowmentes.

Before our times there haue beene not a fewe alterations in the Church. In the which when godly Emperours put downe the Heretikes, they robbed not the Churches of theyr possessions, but restored them to the true professors. Of the which thing Saint *Austine* in his fifty Epistle to *Bonefface* a certayne Capitayne, writeth thus. *What so euer was possessed of the Donatistes parte in the name of theyr Churches, christian Emperours by their religious lawes haue commuanded, that they come with the Churches themselues to the catholicke Church.* Thus sayth *Austine*: And were it not as he sayth, I would confirme the same with many witnesses.

Wherefore, that I may now comprise those thinges I haue sayd: Those Church goods which were gotten, eyther by fraude or by force, and vsurped without right; or else if they were freely giuen, but to a superstitious end, are in the power of the chiefe Magistrate. But those thinges which are lawfully graunted and receyued of the Church, (to no such end, by no such meanes) are consecrate to GOD, neyther can they bee any wayes transuersed without sinfull Sacrilege. Saint *Austine*, in his Treatise vppon Saint *Iohn* the twelfth Chapter. Behold *Iudas* (*sayth hee*) is among the holy men, and that you shall not need to contemne him, a Sacrilegious Church-robber, not a petty Lassoner: hee was a thiefe of the Tresure, but the Lordes Treasure; of the Treasure, but the sacred Treasure. And if crimes are distinguished in the Court, whether it be theft, or publique robbery, (for publique robbery is sayd to be a theft from the common Treasury) howe much more sharpely is a Sacriligious thiefe to bee iudged, which presumeth to steale, not from euery place, but from the holy Church? Doubtlesse he that taketh from the Church, may bee compared to *Iudas* the wretch. So sayth good Father *Austine*.

Chap.

Chap. VIII.

How gracious and inuincible the sin of sacrilege is.

PLato, being to set downe a law against Church-robbers, beginneth the matter with a large preface, and first concludeth, that the sin of Sacrilege is vncureable, and that he which is infected with any such wretched couetise, is not moued thereunto eyther for Gods euill, or for mans, so much as for his owne, and that by reason of some other old and odious sinne, not yet punished, nor euer to be expiat. And therefore he exhorteth those, vppon whome this deadly desire groweth, that they would vse to sacrifice for the same, and humbly to fly to the Temple of the Gods; to frequent the company of good men, to heare their godly conference, and to endeuour themselues to doe and to speake those things which are honest and iust. But if so be, that infirmity wil not so depart, death for such a wretch were better then life. Wherefore he enacteth this Law. *Whosoeuer is aprehended for Sacrilege, (if hee be a seruant, or a foreyner) his fault being written in his forehead, and his handes, and being well whipped with so many stripes as the Iudge shall award, let him bee thrust naked out of the borders of the land: For happely by this punishment, being brought to shame, he may amend his manners. For no punishment is appointed for any mans hurt; but of two thinges it commonly effecteth the one, it maketh him eyther much better, or not so bad, that sustaineth the punishment. But if it be a Cittizen which shall be found to haue commited any such thing against the Gods, or to haue done some great and graceless wrong to his parentes, or his countrey, let the iudge so censure of him, as of one which is incurable, considering this with himselfe, what honest instruction and education he hath had of a childe, and yet hath not absteyned from the most heynous sinnes. Wherefore let this mans punishment be death, the least of all euils. So shall he profite others by his example, while he is made infamous among all, and is put to death beyond the borders of his own countrey.*

De legib. Dialog. 9.

The lawes of the *twelue tables* prouide thus against the same sinne. *Who so stealeth or pilfereth any holy thing, or committed to the holy place, let him be held and handled as a murtherer of his Father.*

ther. But what neede I recite the seuerity of Lawes in this behalfe? it is a thing well enough knowen, if it were but halfe so much feared. But euen they also which escape the lawes and iudgements of men, because they are eyther too mighty, or too crafty, yet can they not escape the vengeance of God. For it is one of the most detested sins, after the which the wrath of God yearneth, till it be reuenged. The examples whereof are to be seene in Histories both sacred and prophane.

Chap. IX.

Certaine examples of Gods vengeance against Sacrilege.

THe first example of Sacrilege, may be that which we read of *Achan*, in the 7. of *Iosua*, who took of the excommunicate things of *Hierico*, a Babyloniſh garment, two hundred sickles of siluer, & a wedge of gold. For this offence of one wretched fellow, did not all Israell feel the heauy wrath of God, till satisfaction was made by the death of that accursed party, and his whole family? To this I may adde an other, committed by the Priests, and no lesse seuerely punished of God, then was that of *Achan*. In the first of *Samuel*, the second Chapter, we read of a certayn man of God, who came to *Ely* the chiefe Priest, and sayd vnto him, *Thus saith the Lorde, did not I plainly appeare to the house of thy Father, when they were in* Egypt *in* Pharaos *house? and I chose him out of all the tribes of* Israell *to be my Priest, to offer vppon mine Altar, and to burne incense, and to weare an Ephode before me, I gaue to the house of thy Father al the offerings made by fire of the children of Israell. Vvherefore haue you kicked against my sacrifice and against mine offerings, which I cõmãded in my tabernacle, &* honorest *thy children aboue me, to make your selues fat of the first fruites of all the offerings of Israell my people? Vvherefore the Lord God of Israell sayth, I sayd that thy house and the house of thy Father should walke before me, but now the Lord saith, it shall not be so: for them that honor me, I will honor, and they that despise me shall be despised. Behold the dayes come that I wil cut off thine arme, and the arme of thy Fathers house, and ther shall not be an old man in thy house. And thou shalt see thine enemy in the habitation of the Lord in all things wherein God blesseth Israel, and there*

ſhall not bee an olde man in thy houſe for euer. Neuer the leſſe, I will not deſtroye euery one of thine from mine Altar, to make thine eyes to fayle, and to make thine heart ſorrowfull: And all the multitude of thine houſe ſhall dye when they bee men. And this ſhall be a ſigne vnto thee, that ſhall come vppon thy two ſonnes Hophny *and* Phinees: *In one day ſhall they die both. And I wil ſtirre mee vp a faithfull Prieſt, that ſhall doe according to mine heart and according to my minde: And I will builde him a ſure houſe, and hee ſhall walke before myne annoynted for euer. And it ſhal come to paſſe, that whoſoeuer is left in thy houſe, ſhal come and bow down to him for a piece of ſiluer, and a morſel of bread, and ſhal ſay, appoint me I pray thee to one of the Prieſts offices, that I may eat a morſel of bread, &c.*

Thus ſaith the mā of God: al which things, as he foreſhewed, came to paſſe not long after. For the ſons of *Ely* were ſlaine in battayle, the *Arke* of the couenant was taken of prophane men: And *Ely* hearing the dolefull meſſenger of theſe wretched newes, fell from his ſeate backeward, and brake his necke: his daughter in law the wife of *Phinees* died in childebed: the holy mount *Sylo* was forſaken of the Lord, neyther was the *Arke* of the Lorde euer brought thither againe. And after all this, 80. and 5. men, Prieſts, of the houſe of *Ely* were ſlain vnder *Saul*. I need not ſpeak of the calamities which befel that whole family, for the Sacrilege of two men only. And albeit the prophane Philiſtines did honorably vſe the ſacred *Arke* after their manner: Yet notwithſtanding God plagued them alſo for their prophanation, neither was it forgiuen thē, that they once handled ſo holy a matter.

But I omit the Sacrileges committed from that time, to the captiuity of *Babylon*. Wher the infamous act of *Balthaſar*, may be a notable exāple of Gods iuſtice againſt al *Sacrilegers*. He in a brauery cōmanded thoſe holy veſſels which his father *Nabuchadnezzar* had ſtollen frō *Hieruſalem*, to be ſet forth for a cupbord of plate in a ſumptuous banquet, that out of them, both he & his cup-mates might carouſe a full deſpite to the diſhonor of God. But the wrath of God found the ſot in the deede doing, & brought him in a ſharp reckoning, with an heauy vp ſhot in the miraculous motion of a hand writing. And here *Daniel* cald before the king to read & expound the heauenly

drawn

drawn writ, in stead of a taking away, taketh him vp, & amõg many other things bordeth him thus. *Thou hast lift vp thy self against the lord of heauẽ, & they haue broght the vessels of his house before thee, & thou & thy Princes, thy wiues & thy cõcubins haue drõk wine in them, & thou hast praised the Gods of siluer and gold, of bras, iron, wood, & stone, which neither see, neither hear nor vnderstand, & the God in whose hãd thy breath is and al thy waies, him hast thou not glorified: Then was the palm of the hand sent from him, & hath written this writing. MENE, MENE, THEKEL, VPHARSIN. This is the interpretatiõ of the speach: MENE, God hath nũbred thy kingdom, & hath finished it. THEKEL, thou art weighed in the balance, & thou art foũd too light. VPHARSIN, thy kingdom is deuided, & it is giuen to the Meeds & Persians.* After this maner did *Daniel* salute him. But the same night was *Balthazar* slaine, & the Empire of the Chaldees and *Assyrians*, which continued an hundred and thirty yeares, was now finished, and theruppon giuen away by God to the *Meedes* and *Persians*.

But I passe on to the time of the *Grecians*, vnder whom the *Iewes* suffred much sorrow, as wel by their own nation, as by the *Grecians*. Amõg the rest the diueliſh enterprise of *Alsimus* hie priest of the *Iewes*, attempting the ouerthrow of the Temple, was not left vnpunished: For hee was strooke with a dead Palsy, & ended his life in great misery. In like manner *Heliodorus*, sent by king *Seleucus* to Hierusalẽ for no other end, thẽ to ransanck the temple (which he vnderstood to be the guardian of great treasure) felt in himself the reuenging hand of God, neither had he escaped present death, had not *Onias* the Priest interceſſed for him. But he being glad he had so escaped, deliuered to the king. *That God was the ouerseer of that temple, & the great guard of that treasury: yet notwithstanding, if the king had any man he would gladly do a spite, he might send him thither.* The robbing of that Temple, cost *Marcus Crassus* Romaine Emperour ful dear. Did not God reuenge his Sacrilege by his enemies the *Persians*? They infused molten gold into his head being dead, because hee thirsted after ill gotten good in his life. But *Iudas* the Traytour is worthy to haue the first place among this holy rabble: Whose Sacrilegious couetousnesse bread such a monster in his breſt, that for base lucre he spared

not his own Maister, his conscience euer yelling, *that he betraied the innocent*. Wherefore afterwards, he being his own accuser, and iudge, & tormentor, set down his due punishment, and in desperate manner tooke it of himselfe.

Much of this making were that holy couple *Ananias* & *Saphyra*, whom God tooke in the manner, and took down with suddaine death, onely for that they aduentured to conceale & keepe backe some part of that theyr owne treasure, which them selues of theyr owne accord had dedicated to the Lord. The fact no doubt might better haue beene excused in theyr own, then in another mans treasure, and yet wee see the direfull censure of God in this case, to the terror of all other.

How *Iulian* the Emperour was paied home at the last, as wel for his Sacrilege, as his Apostacy, the fame of al histories hath made a iust record. This is he, that in a mockery of Christ and christianity, when he had libde the Church, and left it neuer a good thing, sayd: He had well prouided of theyr souls health: For to be poore is one of the priuy Counsels of the Gospell. I may ioyne with this *Iulian*, *Iulian* his Vncle, one caterpiller with an other. This Gentleman, when he had well ransackt the Church, and raked together theyr most precious vessels & sumptuous Monuments at *Antioch* in *Syria*, and had cast them vppon the ground all vppon one heape, he began very gamesomely to play vppon Christ, and to wanton at his pleasure; & to increase the disgrace of that holy spoyle of the Church, at last he vncased his postherne parts, and sat him downe vpon the same: But now, see if God could see the same, and not reuenge it? Nay; but presently thereuppon, his priuy disgraceful parts, and those poores which nature had ther placed for necessary vses, were straungely benummed, in so much that the canckred flesh about those vnseemly parts cōtinually putrified and turned into wormes; but last of all, the vgly disease grew on so far, that it passed far the Art of Phisicke. For the greedy vermine, hauing once entred the inner partes, still scrawled to the quicke and sound flesh, nor might they euer cease their restlesse gnawing, till he had yelled out his cursed soule.

Many more instances might be remembred of christian

Princes,

Princes, were it not to tedious a thing for me to repeat them: as alſo, for that there are ſome things regeſtred for wicked ſacrileges, which if they had bin done without the contempt of God, might very well haue bene excuſed. For no doubt, it had bin ſacrilege in *Dauid*, when hee eat the *Shewbread*, were it not that neceſſity did excuſe it. And therefore, ſacrilege is to bee meaſured according to the mans irreligion, which is bewrayed aſwell in the contempt of falſe Gods, as the neglect of true: namely, whenſoeuer that is contemned by vs, which is worſhipped by other men, and we do it not of any true deuotion towardes God, but of a certaine irreligion in our ſelues. Generally ſo greatlye is it to bee regarded, with what minde a thing bee done, as that to deſtroy the groues and temples of falſe Gods, of a certaine religion towardes the true God, is to be accounted for great godlines in the true worſhippers: The ſame thing, if it be done of the worſhippers thēſelues of falſe Gods, or of ſome other Atheiſt and contemner of al the gods, it is to be taken for godles impiety, and wretched ſacrilege.

If any man aske the queſtion, how he ſhould be ſaid to contemne God, that thinketh there is no God: I aunſwere, that that onely thing it ſelfe, *that he thinketh there is none*, procedeth of a contempt, & ſo conſequently of him which is. And therfore it need not ſeeme ſtraunge to any man, that the wrath of the true God hath bene ſo inraged, not onely againſt ſacrilegious idolatours, but euen in the ſacrilege of idol Gods. Of which iudgement, ſeeing prophane hiſtories affoord vs infinit copie, we will take view of a few of that company. Nor *Brennus* nor *Xerxes* could violate the temple of *Delphos*, and not taſte the cuppe of gods vengeance for it. As for the ſacrilege of the *Tholoſian gold* (from whence the adage grew) I ſhal not need to ſpeake of it beeing ſo generally knowen. But the ſouldiers of *Cambyſes*, ſent to ſpoile the Temple of *Ammon*, were ouerwhelmed quicke in vengeable heapes of heauy ſand: and their maſter a ſcorner of the *Ægyptian* religion, albeit ſuperſtitious: yet becauſe he did it irreligiouſly; not long after he had ſlaine *Apus*, was ſlaine himſelfe by his owne ſword. And how preſent was the vengeance of God in the reuenge of *Pyrrhus*? Hee raiſht at his pleaſure the *Lucreſian Proſerpina*; but when he wold

haue ſailed away full fraught with his nefarious pray, he wracked with his whole nauy vpon the next ſhore: there was he left to the rage of the ſeas, but the treaſure was found, & brought home to the Goddeſſe. To theſe I adde the like example (but the euẽt vnlike) of *Dionyſius* the *Syracuſan* tirant. It is the rather to be remẽbred for their ſakes, whoſe greteſt ſport amõg their ſecret cõpanions, is, whẽ they haue made a pray of the church, to play vpon God, as if they would laugh him out of heauen, for his loſſe in the church. This *Dionyſius*, as I ſuppoſe, hath ſet vp ſchoole among our religious Atheiſts of theſe daies. Wherfore, you haue here the words of *Tully* concerning this *Dionyſius*, as they are ſet downe by *Valerius maximus*. *Dionyſius borne at* Syracuſa, *counted it in part of his greateſt ſport, to ſet forth with gibing termes, his ſo many ſacrileges as we now repeat. For hauing ranſacked the temple of* Proſerpina *at* Locris, *when he had paſſed the ſeas with a proſperous gale, geering to his followers, doe you ſee (ſaith hee) how fortunate a cut thoſe very Gods haue giuen vs, whom we haue robbed? Hauing taken away from the* Olympian Iupiter *a golden veſtment of great waight, with the which King* Hiero *had honored him among the* Carthagenian *Gods, and hauing caſt him into a new liuery of Mockado, he ſaid; that a golden coat was to heauy for ſommer, and to colde for winter, but his Lincie-wolſie would fit him for both ſeaſons. The ſame alſo at* Epidaurus, *commaunded* Æſculapius *his golden beard to bee barbd, becauſe* (as hee ſaid) *it was not fit that* Apollo *his father ſhould be beardleſſe, and he thus ouer-barbed. Moreouer he ſeaſed vpon their ſiluer and golden tables in the Temples, and whereas according to the cuſtome of* Greece, *it was written vpon them,* Theſe are the good Gods, *he ſaid, hee was very well content to accept the goodnes of the Gods. Againe, hee tooke away the golden wreathes, and boles, and garlands, which were helde out at armes end by the images, and in ſo doing, hee ſaid, he did receaue them, not deceaue them: arguing, that it were a meere folly, ſeeing that we aske good things of the Gods, not to take them, when they proffer them. But this man, albeit hee was not puniſhed, as hee deſerued, yet when as hee died for verie ſhame of his vntowarde ſonne, hee receaued that puniſhment by his death, which hee eſcaped in his life. For the wrath of God proceedeth but an eaſie paſe to reuenge himſelfe: but in the end hee requiteth the ſlowne ſ of his patience, with the ſharpnes of their puniſhments.*

Thus

Thus farre goeth *Valerius*: who albeit he say some-what, yet that is much more which the same *Tullie* noted: namely, that tyrants are stoong with a continuall disquiet of conscience, the villanies they haue committed neuer suffering them to rest, but wringing their minds with incessant torture, no other-wise then a hang man doth a condemned person. Wherfore *Dionysius* laghters in so many sacrileges were but so many girnings: neither could hee, being condemned in himselfe of so many misdeeds, be without a miserable and mangled conscience. I suppose, in the opinion of men, he might outwardlie seeme a happy man, but yet within, he knew himselfe how wretched he was, and hee felt the same. For this cause he suffered *Damocles* to make iust triall thereof, (beeing desirous to trie) he sat him down in a golden throne, inuironed of al sides with a consort of well tuned pleasures, euery note prouoking him to a sweet relishe of this desired happines: But when hee perceiued a glittering sword hang ouer his head, strong with a slender haire point de-uice: his heart was done, and all the sport was dasht: *Damocles* sware, he would no more be happie, desiring the Tyraunt to forgiue him his felicitie. But how much more tortured were the braines of the tyrant himselfe, who had not the sworde pendant ouer his most wicked head, but felt it alwaies ready braundished in his wide wounded heart?

But now what shall I say to the Satyricall Poet: *Yea, but tell Prelates, what good golde dooth in a Temple?* Albeit there is small reason (that I may put in an answere for the priests of the heathen) why you of all other should bee made priuie to this: yet notwithstanding, thus much dare I saye in defence thereof, that that gold what-soeuer it was, was hollowed, euen vnto the most impious and idolatrous Priests. But for that which was kept in the Temple of GOD, wee may learne, by that which *Onias* the Hie-Priest said to *Heliodorus*, what vse it had: namely to releiue the poore widows, and maintaine the more needfull ophanes.

And as for that which concerneth the treasure of the Church, when it had anie, it was neither idle I assure you, nor euill occupied, but as occasion serued it, it serued the necessity

neceſſities of the diſtreſſed: and wee may ſay with *Saint Ambroſe*, The Church hath gold, not to lay vp, but to lay out. For that indeed, to feed the poore, releeue the needy, and defend the opreſſed, were the actions and exerciſes, for the which the BB. of old haue bene worthely commended. And to that end alſo, becauſe the chriſtian people, would haue BB. aboue all other to be bountiful, they did abundantly prouide, that they might ſo be with the beſt. But now this is the only drift of policy in ſome, of ſimplicity in many, that by all means the ſtate of our BB. might be brought to begers eſtate: they may teach charity (good leaue haue they) and preach liberality, (there is no man againſt it) but practiſe it they maye not; they are not forbidden, but they are not allowed. I know they will obiect the auarice of ſom, & the riotouſnes of many BB. in the goods of the Church, that by one meanes or other, they imbeci that part, which of right pertaineth to the pore. But to admit, that the pore mans part were in the BB. purſe: (of the which notwithſtanding they hauehad their *quietus eſt*) with what ſtrange reaſon, or with what new religion do they go about to excuſe ſacrilege with ſacrilege? as if the BB. error could qualifie their rage. But I perceiue, leaſt the Paſtors of the Church ſhould bee the onely ſacrilegers, they which haue got the church-goods into their hands, had rather bee fouud of both, the greater church-robbers. For who ſeeth not, that whatſoeuer is once taken from the church vnder this colour, the poore neuer licke their lips after it? yea, the pore are in far worſe caſe at this day, then euer they were before; whō haue found poore churchmen more liberall of old, then they can finde rich gentlemen now, or any other, which at this day by wrong and robbery vſurpe the goods of the Church. The tyranny of the *Romiſh* Prelats being diſſolued, might not the pore more eaſily haue obtained their due of the godly Paſtors, then of thē which now haue crept into their poſſeſſions? But to conclude, I affirme, & you ſhall find it true, that whoſoeuer they be, that wrongfully lurch the Church of their good, or by any meanes abuſe thē, let them bee of what title they may, or let them doe it vnder what title they will, they cannot bee excuſed of ſacrilege, nor their ſacrilege excuſed, when God ſhall viſit with a vengeance.

FINIS.

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